The University of Chicago

THE SOURCES OF LUKE'S PASSION-NARRATIVE

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND LITERATURE
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF NEW TESTAMENT AND EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE
IN THE GRADUATE DIVINITY SCHOOL

BY

ALFRED MORRIS PERRY

HISTORICAL AND LINGUISTIC STUDIES IN LITERATURE
RELATED TO THE NEW TESTAMENT

Second Series—Vol. IV, Part 2

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INTRODUCTION

In the stream of the literary criticism of the Synoptic Gospels the teachings of Jesus and the central portion of his ministry have been borne along upon the full flood, and many have been the reconstructions of that algebraic "x" of the synoptic problem, the ever-elusive Q, and many the discussions of the nature and value of the source from which the first and the third evangelists drew their account of Jesus' teachings; but the culminating portion of the Gospels, the great event which was central in the evangel of the one great literary apostle, has been becalmed, as it were, in an unstirred eddy apart from the great currents of discussion. Whatever the reasons for this neglect, whether the failure here of the major criterion of synoptic criticism—materials common to the First and the Third Gospel only—or merely the too ready assumption that there are here no materials demanding attention, the fact remains that the literary critic generally has had little or nothing to tell concerning the narrative of the Passion.

Since the days of Wilke,[1] to be sure, it has often been observed that the Passion-narrative of the Third Gospel presents striking additions to and corrections of the Markan version; but these divergences have either been minimized, as by Wilke himself,[2] or else they have been treated singly, as by Holtzmann[3] and others, and their full import collectively

[1] C. G. Wilke, *Der Urevangelist* (1838), pp. 482 f. "Faktum ist dass bis n. 34 [Mark 10:13–16 and parallels], kein Stück vorkommt, das von den Referenten in völlig gleicher Form und mit denselben Geschichtsmomenten gegeben wäre. . . . . Von n. 50 bis 57 [Mark 14:1 to end and parallels] aber gibt Lukas fast durchgängig eigentümliche Darstellungen."

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 540: "In der letzten Geschichte Jesu, worin Lukas am meisten von den Nebenberichten abweicht, zeigt an dem, was er mit den Nebenzählern zugleich erwähnt, theils die Ordnung und Stellung, dass er demselben Leitfaden folgte mit jenen, theils an gewissen Stellen die Fassung des Ausdrucks, dass er mit seinen Nachbarreferenten die gleiche griechische Textvorlage gehabt haben müsse, so wie es sich nicht verbirgt, dass er nach schriftstellerischen Zwecken und nach seiner Weise abgeändert."

[3] H. J. Holtzmann, *Die synoptische Evangelien* (1863), p. 210: "In den drei letzten Capiteln des Evangeliums ist dagegen der ursprüngliche Bericht so vielfach und durch so eigentümliche Relationen modificirt, dass man die Erzählung des Lucas sogar schon in ganz andere Abteilungen zerlegen und aus anderen Quellen ableiten wollte, als die Seitenberichte. Das aber auch hier der Leitfaden bei allen Dreien derselbe ist, hat schon Wilke erwiesen." And cf. also pp. 237 ff. So, most recently, Wellhausen, *Das Evangelium Lucae* (1904).

has not been observed. There are, however, exceptions to this rule, and some scholars have pointed out the fact that there might be here materials awaiting more thorough analysis. So Sir John Hawkins[1] has shown that, while the Passion-narrative of Luke (beginning at Luke 22:14, with the account of the Last Supper) is but two-fifths as long as the remaining portions of the Lukan narrative derived from Mark, there is twice as much addition of new material, nearly twice as many inversions of the Markan order, and but half as much agreement with the Markan language. And Burkitt[2] even ventures the suggestion that this portion of Luke's narrative is derived almost wholly from a non-Markan source.

It must then be apparent that there are here facts sufficiently important to warrant serious investigation; the more so since the demonstration of a second independent source of the Passion history might have considerable significance in other departments of gospel study. To this investigation it is the purpose of this study to turn, but to deal with a single phase of the problem only, the question what are the sources of the narrative in the Third Gospel of Jesus' ministry and Passion in Jerusalem.

The limits of the investigation must be set more widely, however, than those assumed by Hawkins and Burkitt, and the entire closing section of the Gospel, from the point (Luke 19:1) where Jesus begins to approach Jerusalem to the close, must be considered in the discussion. To this entire section, Luke 19:1—24:53, will be applied the term "Passion-narrative."

Two limitations upon the study must here be noted. The first of these is the impossibility of attaining mathematically accurate results in any study of the synoptic problem, a fact that is self-evident in itself to anyone who will consider for a moment the fact of textual corruption, yet one that is only too often quite overlooked in attempts at a solution of the problem. Allowance must be made for a considerable margin of error, not only in the minor details of the text, but even in the larger features of the narrative. When we consider that until the rise of the canonical concept in the age of Irenaeus and Tertullian the Gospels were valued in large part for the authority of the words of the Lord which they contained, and that even Tatian could treat them with a consider-

[1] W. Sanday, ed., *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, pp. 76–94. For a more detailed study of the differences and a theory of their origin see P. Feine, *Eine vorkanonische Ueberlieferung des Lukas* (1891), *passim*.

[2] F. C. Burkitt, *The Gospel History and Its Transmission*, p. 134.

able degree of freedom in interweaving, editing, and even in the omission of uncongenial passages, it must at once be clear that the processes of textual corruption and of general adaptation must have gone on at a far more accelerated pace than in the subsequent period through which we are able to trace the textual history.

It is to be expected, therefore, that omissions, additions, and other changes be found which are assignable to alterations of the narrative after it had left the hands of that editor in whose mind it first received its general outline, and whom we are accustomed to call the evangelist. On the textual side, in particular, these may sometimes be of considerable importance, and we may note especially the ever-present possibility of *harmonistic corruption* by which two accounts are brought into a closer agreement than they originally had. The received text is full of examples of this sort of thing which subsequent editors have agreed in eliminating; it is scarcely necessary to refer to examples, whether of the addition of materials from a parallel account in another Gospel (as in Matt. 23:14; 17:21; Luke 8:45; and the expansion of Luke's version of the Lord's Prayer, Luke 11:2–4) or of the revision of the language to that of a parallel account (as in Matt. 19:17; Luke 6:48; 10:27). Occasionally, too, this corruption may have taken the reverse course, and, become a *differentiating corruption*, have destroyed a parallelism which once existed, a fact which becomes of importance in the explanation of some (though by no means of all) of the slight agreements of Matthew with Luke in the triple tradition. Thus it is simplest to suppose that in Mark 5:28 the words τοῦ κραπέδου, which appear in both the Matthew and the Luke parallel, are really the original reading of Mark also, and were lost in the transmission of the text subsequent to the production of the exemplars used by the first and the third evangelists; and similar instances appear in Mark 2:12: 3:18; 4:11; 9:19; etc.

These facts, of textual corruption and of general fluidity of the early gospel transmission, have a twofold bearing upon our study. First, they cast upon all conclusions a shadow of insecurity. Yet this uncertainty must not be exaggerated, for nothing is more striking than the manner in which the Gospels have preserved their individuality and their distinctive differences; the insecurity, after all, amounts to but a small margin of error, and the general facts of the synoptic problem stand out unaltered by such considerations. On the other hand this margin of error has its favorable aspect, inasmuch as it relieves the critic from the necessity of explaining every minute exception to the generally applicable rules. In both of these aspects, however, the fact of slight textual

uncertainty must stand in the background of every discussion of the synoptic problem.

A second limitation, of a different nature, is imposed by the fact that within the limits of this study the Third Gospel shares with the First Gospel practically no material not derived from Mark, and the investigation must proceed from the observation of the evangelist's literary method of dealing with his sources, as it can be determined from other portions of his work, to the inference as to what must have been the sources employed in his narrative of the closing period of Jesus' ministry. Our first task, therefore, must be the determination of Luke's literary method, from which we may go on to the description of the literary phenomena of the Passion-narrative, and then to the inference as to the sources there used and the description of those sources.

CHAPTER I

THE LITERARY METHOD OF THE THIRD EVANGELIST

I. PURPOSE AND CHIEF INTEREST

In the preface to his work the third evangelist states clearly what is his purpose in the compilation of his Gospel—"having traced the course of all things accurately from the first, to write in order" "a narrative concerning those matters which have been fulfilled among us" "that thou mightest know the certainty concerning the things wherein thou wast instructed." Thus plainly he avows an interest in history; he has investigated the facts to the extent of his ability and would now set them forth with the conscientious care of the historian. But, while his purpose is to write history, his ultimate motive is that of "edification"; only he believes that faith rests most securely upon fact and relies confidently upon the historical basis of Christianity. The dominant interest of his Gospel, therefore, is to be the narration of facts, the presentation of history.

The working of this interest is apparent throughout the Gospel. It is necessary only to compare Luke's arrangement of materials in narrative form with the topical arrangement which Matthew chose to adopt to be convinced of its reality. And it appears also in the almost labored endeavor of the evangelist to fix as accurately as might be the location in history of the events he narrates, as in his elaborate chronologies in Luke 1:5; 2:1–2; 3:1–2, and his correction of such errors in Mark as the reference to "Abiathar the high-priest" (Mark 2:26; cf. Luke 6:4) or to Herod Antipas as "king" (Mark 6:14; cf. Luke 9:7).

The consequences of this historical interest for the present study must not be overlooked. It means that we shall find no topical arrangement, but rather an endeavor to fix events in their proper sequence, and that in the use of his sources the evangelist will employ them in their original order unless he has a definite reason for believing that order to be incorrect. Where two sources have divergent accounts of the same event he is perhaps more likely to compare the two accounts and select that which seems the more reliable than to attempt to preserve all the edifying details of both accounts. These phenomena all appear plainly in his actual literary procedure.

II. LUKE'S USE OF HIS MARKAN SOURCE

It is unnecessary to present arguments for the use of a document closely resembling our present Gospel of Mark as a common source of much of Matthew and Luke. The facts that in the Triple Tradition Matthew quite largely and Luke almost wholly agree with Mark in the order of the incidents related, and that in language, although each agrees with Mark in about half of its words, their common agreements against Mark are very few and usually mere coincidences—these make it impossible to avoid the generally accepted conclusion that in our Second Gospel we possess a close approximation to the source document which furnished both Matthew and Luke with the general outline of their narrations and with much of the linguistic form.[1] It is proper, however, to review briefly the manner in which the third evangelist employs this source.

First, it is at once apparent that he endeavored to preserve as far as possible its original order. Of the thirty-eight sections[2] which, up to Luke 19:1, seem to have been drawn from the Markan source, only three (Luke 3:19–20; 6:12–16; 8:19–21) occupy a position different from that of the parallel section in Mark, and two of these are the two sections which introduce and conclude the "Lesser Interpolation" of materials from another source.

Secondly, the Markan materials are inserted in blocks, usually of considerable extent. After a few introductory materials, brought in of necessity, just where the narrative demands (Luke 3:3–4, 16, 19–22; 4:1–2), Luke inserts the rest of his Markan materials, up to the Passion-week, in four large blocks (Luke 4:31–44; 5:12—6:19; 8:4—9:50; 18:15–43). A few parallels to Markan sections do appear elsewhere; but it would seem, from considerations later to be urged, that these are in reality "doublets," and were drawn by Luke from another source. Yet there are a few exceptions to this rule, cases where a conflation of two narratives seems to have taken place. The first of these is the use of a verse of Markan materials, Luke 3:16, in the midst of the non-Markan materials of the preaching of the Baptist, in a form slightly influenced by the non-Markan construction which appears more clearly

[1] Interesting corroborative evidence, external to the documents, might be drawn from Harnack's observation (*Luke the Physician*, pp. 17 ff.; *Lukas der Arzt*, pp. 13 f.) that Luke was personally acquainted with John Mark; cf. Col. 4:10, 14; Philem. 24; II Tim. 4:11.

[2] In E. D. Burton and E. J. Goodspeed, *Harmony of the Synoptic Gospels*, pp. ix–xiv.

in the Matthew parallel (3:11). The only other instances of any importance are the addition of one verse of non-Markan materials (Luke 5:39), and the possible substitution of another (Luke 5:36) in the parables of the Garment and of the Wine-skins, and the addition of a bit of detail (Luke 9:31–32) in the story of the transfiguration.

Thirdly, Luke gives full historical value to the order of the Markan narrative, except where he replaces it by a different version of the same event, as in the rejection at Nazareth (Luke 4:16–30; cf. Mark 6:1–6), the call of the first disciples (Luke 5:1–11; cf. Mark 1:16–20), or the charge of exorcism by Beelzebub (Luke 11:14–23; cf. Mark 3:22–30); and in following the Markan source he is careful to preserve unchanged the chronological connection or want of connection between various incidents.[1]

Fourthly, in his use of the language of his source, the third evangelist is apparently quite free. Hawkins' figures[2] show that in the Triple Tradition as far as Luke 23:13, 53 per cent of the words in Luke, 2,829 words out of a total of 5,320, are paralleled in Mark. Thus there is considerable freedom of treatment in the details of the narrative. This takes the form mainly of improvement of the rather rough language of Mark, smoothing out the details of the narrative, or slight condensation, or abridgment; only occasionally is there expansion, and there are very few cases where the changes involve the addition of any really new detail to the picture.

[1] Of the thirty-eight Mark-parallel sections, in only three is there any change of the Markan data, namely in Luke 9:28, 37, 43. Cf. also V. H. Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, II, 228: "Now it should be observed that in parallels with St. Mark, our third evangelist is careful not to create connexions in time which he did not find in his source. He does not take the juxtaposition of narratives to imply immediate sequence of time as our first evangelist often does. On the contrary, three times at least he has employed phrases which seem expressly designed to shew that this is not to be inferred. (Cf. Mark 2:1 with Luke 5:17; Mark 3:1 with Luke 6:6; Mark 3:13 with Luke 6:12; Mark 2:13 and Luke 5:27 might I think be added to these, but some may be of the opinion that μετὰ ταῦτα here in Luke is not less ambiguous than Mark's πάλιν.) Further, where he has introduced sections into the Markan context or changed the order, he has generally (except at 4:31) been careful to refrain from suggesting a close temporal connexion. Plainly none is indicated at 5:1 and 12. Again the insertions at 4:16 and 5:1 follow references to periods of activity, not to particular events; while the crossing of the Lake at Luke 8:22 ff., which does not as in St. Mark immediately follow the Teaching by Parables, is said to have happened 'on one of those days.' From Luke's procedure in regard to his Markan document in this respect we may surely learn how he would be likely to treat another document."

[2] *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, pp. 77–78.

However, this treatment of the language is not uniform within the section. The examination of a few sample sections, chosen practically at random (Luke 4:31–44; 5:17–26; 8:40–56; 9:11–17; 9:28–36; 9:37–43), will show that in nearly every case the introductory, and often the concluding, sentence is handled with the greatest degree of freedom, the body of the narrative approaches the average for the whole of the Triple Tradition, and the words of Jesus are quoted the most exactly. Thus, of the 146 words of introduction in the sections named above, 36, or 25 per cent, have parallels in Mark; of the 874 words in the body of the narratives, 395, or 45 per cent, have Markan parallels; of the 120 words of discourse, 90, or 75 per cent; and of the 119 words of conclusion, 42, or 35 per cent, are paralleled in Mark.[1]

Next in importance to the identity of words in the sentence must stand agreement in the order of the words, even where synonymous words or phrases appear in the parallel accounts. Here a similar rule applies, though the phenomenon is more difficult to measure. In the passages selected above, in the discourse the order of words is the same in both Mark and Luke, in the body of the narratives it is often but not always the same, and in the introductions and conclusions it may frequently be quite different.

III. THE OTHER PRINCIPAL SOURCES OF THE THIRD GOSPEL

In the description of the other principal source or sources of the Third Gospel there is no such agreement among critics as in the case of the general opinion that a document very similar to our Second Gospel was the first main source. Yet here too it is granted by nearly all scholars that the nature of this source must be determined primarily from the non-Markan materials in which the First and Third Gospels show agreement. These are generally supposed to form the nucleus, if not the whole, of the source commonly designated as "Q," which is thus discriminated by the purely mechanical method of collecting the materials for which Matthew and Luke must have had a common source other than the Markan document.

With the method of this discrimination there can be no quarrel; the mechanical process is such as to free the critic largely from predispositions and the danger of misjudgment, and it must always be the first employed wherever possible. While the method is correct, however,

[1] Cf. B. F. Westcott, *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels* (7th ed., 1888), pp. 198 f.; and Stanton, *op. cit.*, II, 278 ff.

it may be that its application has not been sufficiently rigorous. Thus it is a fact familiar to all that this material is embodied in Luke's Gospel mainly in two blocks of material (Luke 6:20—8:3; 9:51—18:14), while in Matthew's it is inserted *ad libitum* into the general framework of his argument in small fragments. Does not this fact suggest that, until it can be proved that the two Lukan blocks are homogeneous and parts of the same whole, it is necessary further to analyze the common materials into two groups: those which Matthew shares with the earlier portions of Luke, and those common to Matthew and to Luke's Great Interpolation? It might be that the two sections of these common materials, thus discriminated on grounds of purely mechanical nature, would later appear to possess such internal unity that they must be again reunited; but in point of fact the analysis brings to light still further points of difference.

First, the materials common to Luke's "Galilean ministry" and to Matthew appear in both Gospels, section for section, in the same order.[1]

These sections are:

The Preaching of John (Luke 3:7–9, 17; Matt. 3:7–10, 12).
The Temptation (Luke 4:3–13; Matt. 4:3–11).
The Beatitudes (Luke 6:20–23; Matt. 5:2–12).
On the Law of Love (Luke 6:27–36; Matt. 5:39–48).
On Judging (Luke 6:37–42; Matt. 7:1–5).
On Doing Righteousness (Luke 6:43–49; Matt. 7:16–27).
The Healing of the Centurion's Servant (Luke 7:1–10; Matt. 8:5–13).
Discourse on John the Baptist (Luke 7:18–35; Matt. 11:2–19).

In these eight sections, comprising in Luke 71 verses at the least, there are but 4 verses (Luke 6:31=Matt. 7:12; Luke 6:39=Matt. 15:14; Luke 6:40=Matt. 10:24; and Luke 6:45=Matt. 12:35) which have parallels in Matthew outside the limits of the corresponding section, and to the first of these there is a parallel within the Sermon on the Mount. These are all words of Jesus, and similar transposition of Markan "Logia" in Matthew may be instanced;[2] these exceptions, therefore, are not sufficient to offset the fact that in the use of this source, or this section of the Q source, Luke and Matthew practically agree in order throughout.

[1] Cf. Harnack, *The Sayings of Jesus*, pp. 172 f.; *Sprüche und Reden Jesu*, pp. 121 f.

[2] Cf. Mark 4:21=Matt. 5:15; Mark 9:43–48=Matt. 5:29–30, 18:8–9; Mark 9:41=Matt. 10:42; Mark 10:15=Matt. 18:3; Mark 11:25=Matt. 6:14.

However, no such agreement in order can be traced through the remaining portion of the common materials;[1] they are scattered in widely divergent order through Luke's Great Interpolation and through Matthew alike. The question must therefore be raised whether it is not more likely that these were two sources than that Matthew adopted a different method of using his source at the very point where Luke broke it in two.

Secondly, there are not wanting diversities in the literary characteristics of the two groups of material. It has been noted by Burton[2] that the former group has "a marked uniformity in general literary character. The narratives are all vividly told, surpassing in this respect even the vivid narratives of Mark, and in literary style reaching the high-water mark of this Gospel." But the character of the second group is quite different. Where the former has a large degree of interest in narrative, the latter contains little but discourse material;[3] the vividness and definiteness of the former group are in marked contrast to the indefiniteness of the latter;[4] where the former quotes the Old Testament explicitly (six times), the latter has reflections of Old Testament language (twelve such, against one in the "Galilean" portion) and references to Old Testament characters and cities. Certain linguistic differences also appear. The former group describes Jesus always as Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, the latter generally as Υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου; and the phrases Βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ and αὕτη ἡ γενεά are characteristic chiefly of the latter group.

Thirdly, there is a similar diversity in the thought-content and point of view. For the former group, the "Galilean" portion in Luke, the

[1] Cf. Harnack on the order of Q, *Sayings of Jesus*, pp. 178–79 (*Sprüche und Reden Jesu*, pp. 125–26). Of the remaining sections of Q, Harnack traces similarity of order in only twenty-one sections in all (p. 178), and this in two overlapping series; while of the other twenty-seven sections he observes that they "do not admit of being arranged in a definite order" (p. 179). On the order of the materials of Matthew's Sermon on the Mount which are paralleled in Luke's Great Interpolation, he remarks (p. 176), "This is hopeless; for it is simply impossible to trace any sign of correspondence in order of the parallel passages."

[2] *Principles of Literary Criticism and the Synoptic Problem* (Chicago, 1904), p. 43.

[3] The first contains three narratives, and three narratives containing dialogue, and one (perhaps three) paragraphs with narrative introduction; but the second contains no true narratives, but one narrative containing dialogue, and *sixteen* paragraphs with narrative introduction and *twenty-one* sections of straight discourse.

[4] The former gives personal names, geographical and chronological references, and details of the situation, and exaggerates numbers and areas to gain vividness, while the latter omits these even where they might be expected to appear.

emphasis in the Christian life is placed upon the ethical and moral phase, and upon the principle of love. Therefore Jesus is here depicted as the Son of God who has power to heal and to forgive. But the attitude of the latter group—the materials from Luke's Great Interpolation—is quite different; here the emphasis is not upon righteousness but upon prayer, watchfulness, trust, and faith; and Jesus is presented as the Son of Man, revealing the Father to men, who are, like himself, sons of God. On the practical side it recommends chiefly abnegation and opposes covetousness and the possession of property. Further, the latter group is strongly eschatological, with frequent reference to the Kingdom of God, and is likewise strongly anti-Pharisaic, holding even that the Old Testament is not the final revelation of God; but none of this appears in the former group, which hardly mentions the Kingdom of God, and omits all reference to the Pharisees.

For these reasons it seems necessary to accept the theory propounded by Professor E. D. Burton,[1] that the common sources of Matthew and Luke were, besides Mark, not one but two—that embodied in the Lukan account of Jesus' "Galilean ministry," and that embodied in his "Perean" section. This solution of the synoptic problem, therefore, forms the basis of the present discussion.[2]

It remains to discuss the sources of the materials of Luke's Gospel which are peculiar to himself. Here mechanical means of discrimination fail, and conclusions must be drawn solely from internal evidence. Some, as Burkitt,[3] hold that these materials were perhaps a part of the Q source, while others, as Stanton and Weizsäcker,[4] rightly arguing that it is difficult to suppose that the third evangelist would have undertaken an elaborate interweaving of material, hold that Luke had an expanded recension of Q in which these materials were already imbedded. Yet others, following Harnack's and Wellhausen's strict limitation of Q to the common materials of Matthew and Luke, hold that the third evangelist had yet another written source, perhaps

[1] E. D. Burton, *op. cit.;* also "Some Phases of the Synoptic Problem," *Journal of Biblical Literature,* XXXI (1912), Part II, pp. 95–113.

[2] I believe, however, that the results of this study will be equally available for those who continue to hold the two-document theory, inasmuch as the materials common to Luke's Passion-narrative and to Matthew are, at most, but a verse or two.

[3] Burkitt, *The Gospel History and Its Transmission,* pp. 130 ff.

[4] Stanton, *op. cit.,* II, 227 f.; Weizsäcker, *Untersuchungen über die evangelische Geschichte* (1864), pp. 205 f.

including an account of the Passion. This is the view of B. Weiss and of Feine.[1]

The problem, therefore, must be considered whether or not the peculiar materials of Luke's Gospel, up to the point where the narrative of Jesus' closing days in Jerusalem begins, were or were not connected with the materials which he shared with Matthew when these latter came into his hand. There are a number of indications which go to show that the combination of these groups of material was not the work of the evangelist.

First, we have already seen (p. 6) that Luke's habit in dealing with his Markan source was to insert its materials in blocks of considerable size rather than to interweave it closely with materials from his other sources. But the peculiar materials of his non-Markan sources are quite closely interwoven with the materials common also to Matthew, while the blocks of the resulting interwoven composition alternate with considerable blocks of Markan materials.

Secondly, it is a priori probable, from Matthew's topical arrangement, that he should omit sections here and there from his sources. Thus, though he does indeed omit but few sections of his Markan source, another irregularity in his use of Mark, his occasional repetition of passages (seven in all), which serves to show his desire to exhaust the source he had chosen to furnish his outline, would argue for extensive omissions from a source for which he had not the same respect, and which he did not employ so largely in order, or which had to be conformed to the Markan materials. That this was the status of his non-Markan sources would appear from the fact that in building up his discourses he usually starts with an occasion and brief outline in the Markan material, and adds to this appropriate materials from the source which he shared with Luke and from materials peculiar to himself.[2] Since the two latter groups of material are selections that must accord with the subject-matter of the first, it becomes inherently probable that much in their sources must have been omitted.

Thirdly, internal evidence serves to show that the materials peculiar to Luke's "Galilean" section (chaps. 3–8) are homogeneous with those

[1] Bernhard Weiss, *Die Quellen des Lukas-evangeliums* (1907), pp. 195 ff.; *Die Quellen der synoptischen Ueberlieferung*, Text. u. Untersuch., Band 32, Heft 3 (1908), pp. 169 ff.; P. Feine, *Eine vorkanonische Ueberlieferung des Lukas* (1891), pp. 10–12.

[2] Cf. the discourses in chaps. 10, 13, 18, 23, 24–25. In the Sermon on the Mount (chaps. 5–7) the similar sermon in Luke (6:20–49) seems to take the place of the Markan outline.

which, in this portion, he shares with the First Gospel. The literary and historical arguments used above all go to prove that the non-Markan materials of this portion of the Third Gospel must have formed a single document.[1]

As regards the materials of the Great Interpolation the case is not so clear. Here the internal evidence seems rather to show that the peculiar materials and the Matthew-paralleled materials did not originally form a unified document;[2] but the fact, just brought out, that Luke used his second source, as he used his Markan document, in blocks—this would indicate that the interweaving of these materials was not the work of the evangelist, and that the Great Interpolation also lay before him in the form of a single, though composite, document.

We shall therefore assume that the non-Markan sources of the Lukan narrative of Jesus' ministry up to the time of his approach to Jerusalem are, besides the narratives of the infancy, two: one which includes the non-Markan materials of the "Galilean ministry," namely the preaching of John, the temptation, the rejection at Nazareth, the call of four disciples, and the Lesser Interpolation (Luke 3:7–15, 17–18; 4:2–30; 5:1–11; 6:20—8:3); and a second, which includes the Great Interpolation, or "Perean ministry" (Luke 9:51—18:14, perhaps also 19:1–27). These sources will be designated, after Burton, from their geographical setting, as "G" and "P," respectively. We now turn to review the manner in which Luke has made use of these sources.

IV. LUKE'S USE OF HIS NON-MARKAN SOURCES

First, it has been noted that, in so far as we can judge from the G materials inserted in Matthew, Luke has used that document as he had used his Markan source in its original order. This conclusion is further corroborated by his insertion of accounts parallel to, but not derived from, the Markan source at points which do not correspond to their

[1] See above, pp. 10 f., and cf. Burton, *Princ. Lit. Crit.*, pp. 43 f. These materials show the same narrative interest and the same vividness and definiteness as the Matthew-parallel materials, and, like them, place the emphasis in Christian life upon love and righteousness, and avoid eschatology and anti-Pharisaic utterances. Stanton (*op. cit.*, II, 296–99) finds in three of these narratives (Luke 5:1–11; 7:36–50; 8:1–3) indications of Lukan authorship in an unusual number of "expressions characteristic of the third evangelist"; but the evidence is not overwhelming here.

[2] Cf. D. R. Wickes, *Sources of Luke's Perean Section* (Chicago, 1912). Wickes contends, on the evidence of peculiarities of style and thought. that there are two distinct groups of material, one embracing the Matthew-parallel materials and a few materials peculiar to Luke, the other the great mass of the peculiarly Lukan material.

position in the Markan narrative. Thus, for the Markan accounts of the rejection at Nazareth, the call of the first disciples, and the anointing of Jesus, he substitutes parallel but fuller accounts; and these are in each case differently placed. It is difficult to see why this should have been the case, unless in so placing them the evangelist followed the order in which they already stood in the source from which he drew them. Of the form in which P lay before the evangelist we cannot be sufficiently sure to draw any deductions which might be used as evidence in our study; but probably the case is the same here also.

Secondly, it appears that Luke's tendency was to use materials from his sources in blocks of considerable size. This is the manner in which he has used the G source, which appears first in the narrative of the Preaching of the Baptist somewhat conflated with Markan materials, but then in a block which includes the temptation and the rejection at Nazareth, followed by the insertion of the single narrative of the Call of the First Disciples, and finally by the block (6:20—8:3) known as the "Lesser Interpolation." The P materials are inserted in one large block of eight and one-half chapters (351 verses), with the possible addition of a second smaller block at the beginning of the Jerusalem ministry (Luke 19:1–27).

Thirdly, where Luke had duplicate accounts before him, it does not seem to have been his habit to conflate them as Matthew regularly did; but he rather made choice between them and followed closely the one selected. Thus, in the accounts of the rejection at Nazareth (4:16–30), the call of the first disciples (5:1–11), and the anointing of Jesus (7:36–50), there is no reason for believing that any of the details are drawn from the corresponding Markan accounts. The reverse is true, however, in the description of the Baptist's Testimony (3:16), where, save for the improvement in the order of the phrases, Luke agrees closely with Mark, while Matthew apparently conflates details from the Markan source with the account of G. In P this avoidance of duplicates is not quite so clear, since that document seems to have been inserted just as it stood. Indeed, Luke does occasionally include in his Great Interpolation accounts of events that he has already given in the Markan version (cf. Luke 5:12–16 with 17:11–14; 6:6–11 with 14:2–6; and perhaps 9:1–6 with 10:1–12); but he also omits Markan accounts of events obviously the same as those which he intends to give in the P version, the charge of evil exorcism (11:14–23; cf. Mark 3:22–30) and the demand for a sign (11:29; cf. Mark. 8:11–13).

Fourthly, in turning from one source to another the evangelist seems to seek for a nexus through some common incident or geographical hint. Thus the Markan reference to the temptation (cf. Luke 4:1–2) gives him an opportunity to turn to the account in his G document, which he follows until he can connect the reference to Jesus' return to Capernaum (4:31) with the similar reference in Mark (Mark 1:21). The list of Jesus' disciples and the description of the general character of his ministry the evangelist transposes and thus brings Jesus' teaching (drawn from a G account) into a position where it is balanced against his working. The nexus of P is not so definite, for P itself is largely wanting in just these hints. It is difficult to say, therefore, just what reasons prevailed upon the evangelist to locate it where he did; perhaps this seemed to him the latest point at which he could reasonably interrupt the narrative of Jesus' ministry, or more probably the reference to a journey (Luke 9:51; cf. Mark 10:1) was sufficient nexus.

Fifthly, as far as it can be determined, Luke shows an even greater fidelity to the language of G than to that of Mark. That is to say, his agreements with Matthew are more numerous in G materials than in the Markan; thus in the Markan materials common to Luke and Matthew, Luke has 3,546 words, of which there appear in Matthew, in whole or in part, 1,356, or 38.24 per cent; while of the G materials common to both Luke has, in his Lesser Interpolation (Luke 6:20—8:3), 1,028 words, of which 516, or 50.2 per cent, are common also to Matthew. This is about equal to the agreement of Luke and Matthew in the only considerable discourse section of Mark (Luke 8:4–15=Matt. 13:1–23), where, of Luke's 231 words, 127 are paralleled in Matthew, or 54.9 per cent; but the Lesser Interpolation includes also the narrative of the Healing of the Centurion's Servant. The agreements of Matthew and Luke in the P materials common to both are approximately the same: of 3,234 words in Luke, 1,715 are shared by Matthew, or 53.03 per cent; but these are chiefly discourse materials. It would thus appear that Luke followed the language of his "Perean," and particularly of his "Galilean," sources rather more closely than he did that of his Markan document.

V. EDITORIAL ADDITIONS BY THE EVANGELIST

A further point in the third evangelist's literary method, the construction of his editorial summaries, requires especial consideration, and in particular the question whether or not these are produced, as some of the similar descriptions in the First Gospel appear to have been, by the

compilation of data from scattered portions of the Markan source (cf. with Matt. 4:23–25; Mark 1:39, 28, 32, 34*a*; 3:7*b*–8). Of the nine passages connected with Markan materials where the editorial hand of the evangelist is most clearly manifest (Luke 3:19–20; 4:14–15; 4:41; 5:15–16; 5:17; 6:11; 6:17–19: 8:1–3; 18:34), four (Luke 3:19–20; 5:15–16; 6:11; 6:17–19), including the longest of them all, contain no materials which appear to have been drawn from any Markan passage except the immediate parallel. These may be dismissed at once. Luke 5:17 is not similar to the corresponding Markan passage (Mark 2:1–2); but while a somewhat similar passage finally occurs in Mark 7:1 (omitted by Luke), the specification of a wide range of territory (cf. Luke 3:1–2; 3:3; Acts 2:9–11; 9:31; 11:19, etc.) and the connection of *δύναμις* and *ἰᾶσθαι* (cf. Luke 6:19) are specifically Lukan characteristics, so that a Markan source is hardly needed for this passage. Luke 18:34 is somewhat similar to Mark 9:32; but the expansion of this verse by Luke in the parallel position is sufficient to show that it was one of the dominating ideas in his own explanation of the gospel story. Luke 8:1–3, while remotely paralleled in Mark (6:6*b*; 15:40–41; 16:1), contains further details and is not satisfied by these parallels (note also the differences in the list of the women) and seems rather to require another source, probably the G document, which adjoins or includes it. Thus far, then, it has not appeared that Luke's editorial comments are produced by a process of conflation; and this is just the conclusion that might be expected regarding an author who in other respects conflates so little.

In the remaining instances, however, the case appears different at first glance. Luke 4:14–15 is largely paralleled in three verses of Mark: the parallel verse (Mark 1:14) and Mark 1:28 and 1:39. But these two latter parallels are of the most conventional materials, and the former of them (Luke 4:14*b*) is quite as well suggested by an earlier phrase in Luke: *πᾶσαν τὴν περίχωρον* in Luke 3:3. Since this section, standing between two G narratives (Luke 4:3–13, 16–30), is likely on that account to have come from G, and since it contains also elements not satisfied by Mark (*ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ Πνεύματος, δοξαζόμενος ὑπὸ πάντων*), it seems rather far-fetched to attempt to describe it as a compilation of these merely incidental details from the Markan source. Luke 4:41 is the most apparent case of compilation; here, in the midst of a Markan account, there are suddenly inserted the phrase *λέγοντα ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ* and the verb *ἐπιτιμᾷν*, which have a verbal parallel in Mark 3:11–12 two chapters later. Yet the phrase, in its conventional ecclesi-

astical language, may be but an accidental assimilation to Markan language of the more original cry in the preceding narrative of Luke (cf. Luke 4:34, really a part of the section to which this verse forms a conclusion), and the coincidence of ἐπιτιμᾷν may easily be accidental; or we may here be confronted with an instance of harmonistic corruption of the text.

There is, therefore, no undoubted instance of conflation of details garnered from different points in the sources to build up an editorial summary, or transitional sentence, or a complete narrative; and inasmuch as this is not elsewhere the evangelist's literary method, it seems rather that any real cases of editorial compilation must be due to a merely unconscious reminiscence of details learned elsewhere in the source. That such laborious and detailed compilation as the converse proposition would require could never have been an evangelist's method is patent in two facts. First, an evangelist who exhibits such freedom in the revision of the language and form of his sources cannot have been at great pains to preserve all the minutiae of their content; and second, the presence of a single doublet, especially of such doublets as those which in Matthew (cf. Matt. 5:29–30 and 18:8–9; 9:32–34 and 12:22–24) arise simply from the careless repetition of a passage out a of single source, is proof positive that no such particularistic treatment of the sources obtained in the literary method of the evangelist. (Luke avoided doublets simply by using his sources in their own order and eliminating any duplications which struck him.)

On the other hand there is an occasional editorial transposition of details from one point to another within a single narrative. Sometimes this takes the form of a better setting of the scene, as when the presence of the scribes (Luke 5:17; cf. 5:21 and Mark 2:6) or the fact that Jesus had fallen asleep (Luke 8:23, cf. Mark 4:38) is brought forward to a point where it does not so delay the climax of the story. In particular, narrative details which in Mark are appended at the conclusion of the narrative, obvious afterthoughts, are *without exception* transferred to better positions in the body of the narrative (cf. Luke 3:19–20 with Mark 6:17–18; Luke 8:42*a*, 55*b* with Mark 5:42*b*, 43*b*; Luke 9:14*b* with Mark 6:44). This particular phase of Luke's general improvement of the diction and form of the Markan narration is of especial importance.

VI. DOUBLETS

While the production of so-called "doublets" cannot have been any intentional part of the literary method of the third evangelist, yet these

constitute a literary phenomenon which must be recognized in order to gain a clear understanding of the composition of the gospel record. A true doublet may be defined as a phenomenon wherein the same thought (generally a saying of Jesus) appears twice in a single Gospel, nearly always under such circumstances as to raise the question whether the second instance was not drawn from another source than that of the first. In addition to the true doublets there must be recognized also what have been called "veiled doublets," where the accounts of an incident, while each without a duplicate in its own Gospel, seem not to have been drawn from the same source (for example, cf. Luke 5:1–11 and Mark 1:16–20).

However, when they are drawn from different sources the agreements between the two members will naturally be less numerous and complete, in the case of a doublet or a veiled doublet, than in the case of two accounts drawn from the same documentary source. Their exact extent may now be examined.

Of true doublets in Luke, Hawkins[1] lists ten, all of which seem to be due to a duplication of similar materials in different sources. These ten contain, in both their members, 555 words and 258 mutual agreements (129 agreements, each counted twice); so that the amount of mutual agreement may be counted as 46.5 per cent, considerably less than the agreement of Luke with Mark in discourse, 73.4 per cent. The members of these doublets, drawn by Luke from non-Markan sources, contain 237 words, of which 82, or 34.6 per cent, agree with the Markan text, and 57 more are parallel in substance, or 56.1 per cent in all. However, there is great diversity in the amount of agreement; it ranges as high as 75 per cent (Luke 17:33; cf. Mark 8:35) and as low as 15 per cent (Luke 12:9; cf. Mark 8:38). Agreement in the order of words also appears in four of these ten instances.

With the veiled doublets of Luke the case is similar. In the thirteen listed by Stanton,[2] most of them true doublets in Matthew, of 281

[1] *Horae Syn.*[2] (1909), pp. 99–106. These are: Luke 8:16=11:33; 8:17=12:2; 8:18=19:26; 9:3–5=10:4–11; 9:23=14:27; 9:24=17:33; 9:26=12:9; 11:43=20:46; 12:11–12=21:14–15; 14:11=18:14; perhaps also Luke 9:46=22:24, but this seems editorial in both instances. To these should be added Luke 10:16=9:48.

[2] *Op. cit.*, II, 54–60. These are: Luke 11:9, cf. Mark 11:24; Luke 11:15, cf. Mark 3:22; Luke 11:16, cf. Mark 8:11; Luke 11:17–18, cf. Mark 3:23–26; Luke 11:21–22, cf. Mark 3:27; Luke 11:29, cf. Mark 8:12; Luke 12:10, cf. Mark 3:28–29; Luke 13:18–19, cf. Mark. 4:30–32; Luke 13:30, cf. Mark 10:31; Luke 16:18, cf. Mark 10:11; Luke 17:1–2, cf. Mark 9:42; Luke 17:6, cf. Mark 11:23; Luke 22:26, cf. Mark 9:35.

words 111 agree with Mark (38 per cent), while 50 more are paralleled in substance, or 56.3 per cent in all, as against the corresponding figures of 73.4 per cent and 86.8 per cent for the materials of Luke agreeing with, or essentially paralleled in, Mark in the discourse materials drawn from the Markan source. Agreements in order of words appear in three of the fourteen instances.

Examination of longer passages in Luke parallel to, but not derived from, the Markan document shows even less agreement. Thus, in the Rejection at Nazareth (Luke 4:16–30), of 271 words but 20 are common to Mark also; in the Call of the First Disciples (Luke 5:1–11), of 207 words but 16 are common; and even in the Charge of Exorcism by Beelzebub (Luke 11:15–23), of 137 words only 25 (18 per cent) are shared with Mark, but these are 32.5 per cent of the common materials of the section.

It, therefore, appears that a certain amount of agreement between different *sources* is to be expected, amounting, in discourse, to perhaps half the agreement of different versions of the same source, both in the choice of words and in the order of their arrangement, but occasionally approaching the limits of the agreement of accounts derived from the same source.

VII. THE PRINCIPLES OF LUKE'S LITERARY PROCEDURE

We may now state briefly the results of the preceding study of the literary method of the third evangelist in the form of the principles which, consciously or unconsciously, guided him in his task.

1. In making use of his sources the evangelist endeavored, as far as possible, to preserve the original order of their materials.

2. Where he found duplicate accounts of the same incident he preferred to choose one of them and follow it to the exclusion of the other, rather than to attempt to conflate the details of both into a single narrative. The version so selected was inserted at the point where it stood in its own source.

3. In the use of his sources it was his tendency to insert them in considerable blocks, following one until some common detail led him to take up another at what seemed to him the same point.

4. On the other hand, so far as indications of common points availed, it was his endeavor to fit his narratives together in the historical order of events. It is conceivable, therefore, that, in the use of two rapidly moving narratives covering much the same ground, this process would approach compilation or conflation.

5. In copying his sources he is free to revise and improve their language; but there are limits to be set to this freedom. In both the vocabulary and the order of words the greatest degree of freedom is to be found in the introductions and conclusions of narratives, while the body of the narratives is repeated more exactly, and the discourses, and especially the apothegms, of Jesus are repeated with the least amount of revision.

6. His primary interest, however, is historical, and he is at considerable pains not to misquote his sources on points of sequence and chronology.

7. While generally endeavoring not to repeat a single incident which came to him in two versions, and therefore often omitting matter from his sources, he sometimes preserves "doublets" of the words of Jesus, often closely similar in language, and more frequently presents "veiled doublets" by preserving the non-Markan version of a story or saying which appears also in Mark.

CHAPTER II

LITERARY PHENOMENA OF THE PASSION-NARRATIVE IN LUKE

It must be at once apparent to even the casual observer that in the account of the closing week of Jesus' career the Third Gospel differs considerably more from the Second than it does in any other portions of his ministry where the two works cover the same ground. This appears at once in matters of fact, such as the time and purpose of Jesus' examination before the Jewish authorities, his trial before Pilate, the account of the Last Supper, and the question whether the departure of Judas took place before or after the Supper. It becomes the more evident to one who studies the two Gospels closely side by side and endeavors to trace their parallels—so numerous are the transpositions, expansions, or abbreviations of the minor details. We come, therefore, to a study of the literary phenomena of these closing chapters of Luke.

I. THE LIMITS OF THE AGREEMENT WITH MARK

In the study of the Mark parallels we may divide the Passion-narrative of the Third Gospel into four sections, namely: (1) Luke 19:1–27, to which there are in Mark no parallel materials; (2) Luke 19:28—22:13, where the parallelism to Mark is fairly close; (3) Luke 22:14—24:11, where the narratives are parallel, but the agreements are not so close; and (4) Luke 24:13–53, where the parallel narrative of Mark is wanting. In the first and fourth of these, of course, there can be no question of the amount of agreement between the two Gospels, and we come to a consideration of the second and third.

We have already seen (pp. 7–8) that in parallel passages about one-half of the words of Mark appear also in Luke, wholly or in part, and that this agreement is much closer in the case of words of Jesus, and correspondingly less in the introductions and conclusions of narratives. The phenomena are the same in the former of the sections before us (Luke 19:28—22:13); of 1,718 words in Luke (excluding verses not paralleled in Mark), 904, or 52.6 per cent, are found also in Mark, and 213 more are there paralleled in substance, or 65 per cent in all. But in the discourse materials the proportion does not hold; in the discourse materials common to Luke and Mark previous to Luke 19:1, of 1,103 words, 810, or 73.4 per cent, are wholly or in part common to both, and

152 more are paralleled in substance, or 87.2 per cent in all; but in the present section, of 881 words of discourse, 519, or 58.9 per cent only, are common to both gospels, and 71 more paralleled in substance, or 66.9 per cent in all. This smaller amount of agreement is largely due to the divergence between the Markan and the Lukan versions of the Apocalyptic Discourse, where of 403 words only 180, or 44.7 per cent, are common to both, and 26 more paralleled in substance, or 51.1 per cent in all. The agreements of Luke with Mark in the Apocalyptic Discourse, then, are but three-fifths as numerous as in his Markan discourse materials (including parables) up to the beginning of the Passion-narrative. Evidently he has either here markedly changed his literary method, or else he is using also non-Markan materials which are parallel in substance to the Markan.

Examination of the introductions and conclusions of the separate incidents of this section (Luke 19:28—22:13)—of those opening sentences which set the scene for the incident, and the closing sentences which are frequently, though not always, added after the climax of the incident is past—shows that Luke is here, if anything, following, his Markan source more closely. For while in Markan sections examined (pp. 7–8) in the introductions 24.6 per cent, and in the conclusions 35.3 per cent, of the words are shared by both Gospels, here, of 154 words of introduction, 79, or 51 per cent, and of 147 words of conclusion, 57, or 39 per cent, are common to both. Evidently in this respect, where we should most expect editorial freedom, Luke follows his Markan source more closely than before.

TABLE I

	Totals			Discourse			Introductions			Conclusions		
	A*	B†	C‡	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
Luke 4:31, etc. . .	1,339	563	42.0	120	90	75.0	146	36	24.6	119	42	35.6
Luke 3:3—18:43.	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	1,103	810	73.4	. . . .	. . . .	. . . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .
Luke 19:28—22:13	1,861	904	48.5	881	519	58.9	154	79	51.3	147	57	38.8
Luke 21:1–36. . . .	589	205	34.8	403	180	44.7	. . . .	. . . .	. . . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .
Luke 22:14—24:11	1,472	475	32.3	222	113	50.9	183	54	29.5	110	33	30.0

*A refers to words in Luke. † B refers to common words. ‡ C refers to percentage.

Turning to the latter section, Luke 22:14—24:11, we find far less agreement than before; of 1,472 words (again excluding verses of Luke not paralleled in Mark), but 475, or 32.3 per cent, are common, wholly or in part, to the two Gospels; that is, the agreements are but three-

fifths as numerous as in the early part of the gospel narrative. In discourse materials the proportion is 113 words out of 222, or 50.9 per cent; in the introductions, 54 words out of 183, or 29.5 per cent; in the conclusions, 33 words out of 110, or 30 per cent. These phenomena are made plainer in Table I.

II. ADDITIONS AND OMISSIONS IN THE NARRATIVE

There are in the Passion-narrative of Luke (Luke 19:1—24:53) twenty-eight additions of materials quite without parallels in Mark, totaling, at a minimum count, at least 127½ verses.[1] Of these twenty-eight additions only three (Luke 19:1–27, 23:4–15, and 24:13–53), totaling 81 verses, are in blocks of more than 6 verses, such as we should expect from the evangelist's method of adding materials from another source in other parts of his Gospel (principle 3, p. 19). On the other hand there are sixteen additions comprising but a single verse or part of a verse. The additions are distributed as follows: in Luke 19:28—22:13, nine additions, 17 verses; in Luke 22:14—24:11, seventeen additions, 34½ verses, including the 12 verses of the block Luke 23:4–15.

In the earlier portion of the Gospel, however, the phenomena are just the reverse. Here the added materials appear in six blocks (Luke 3:5–15; 3:23–38; 4:2–30; 5:1–11; 6:20—8:3; 9:51—18:14), no one of which contains less than 11 verses, and the largest of which contain 83 and 351 verses respectively. Aside from these, there are but six additions to the Markan materials (not including purely editorial remarks), totaling 8 verses (Luke 3:17–18; 5:39; 9:31–32; 9:43; 18:34, 43). Thus, in the 199 verses containing the Markan account of Jesus' ministry there are six slight additions, 8 verses; in the 176 verses which include the Mark-parallel materials of the Passion-narrative there are (the larger blocks already included) fifteen additions, 39½ verses, or two and one-half times as many additions containing five times as much material. While this great increase in the number and importance of small additions may be in part due to the operation of principle 4 (see p. 19), it is evident that there is here a considerable difference from the literary result earlier exhibited.

The phenomena of omissions of materials which appear in the Markan narrative are not so striking. There are in the Passion-narrative thirty-five omissions[2] of 87 verses in all; thirteen of these, 37 verses, are in the section Luke 19:28—22:13, and twenty-two omissions, 47 verses,

[1] For list see Appendix I, list I.

[2] For list see Appendix I, list IV B.

in the section Luke 22:14—24:11. In the earlier portion of the Gospel, besides Luke's "Great Omission" of the 75 verses in Mark 6:45—8:26, there are twenty-five omissions,[1] totaling 98½ verses. Thus in the case of omissions also, while the amount of omitted material is proportionately about the same, the blocks of material are smaller in the Passion-narrative.

III. TRANSPOSITIONS OF THE ORDER OF THE NARRATIVE

In the matter of transpositions of the order of events, we come again to a more important divergence in Luke's literary method. It has already been noticed (principle 1, p. 19; see also pp. 6 f., 9 f.) that Luke is wont to preserve the original order of his sources. Thus, in the Markan materials of Luke 3:3—18:14, there are but three changes in the order of sections (Luke 3:19–20; 6:17–19; 8:4–15), none of which affect the sequence of the narrative (since two are editorial summaries and the third a discourse), and two of which seem designed to introduce and conclude the Lesser Interpolation. There are, however, three non-Markan parallels to Markan narratives (Luke 4:16–30; 5:1–11; 7:36–50), no one of which occupies the position corresponding to that of the Markan narrative, and two of which introduce important changes in the development of Jesus' ministry; but it has been shown to be probable (see p. 13) that this is due to the evangelist's determination to follow some other source than Mark in its order as well as in its content. Besides these transpositions of sections, there are also eight transpositions of verses or portions of verses.[2] Five of these (Luke 3:2–3; 8:29*b*; 8:42*a*, 46*b*; 9:14*a*) are merely descriptive details, one (Luke 9:48*c*) is discourse material, and the other two (Luke 8:51*b*, 55*c*) are purely incidental actions, slightly transposed to improve the unity of the narrative. There are, then, no transpositions of the order of events which can be assigned to the hand of Luke himself; in the cases which seem to be such he is in reality following one of his sources.

But the Passion-narrative appears to contradict this rule flatly; for here transpositions are numerous and important.[3] There are four transpositions of sections, all of which affect the order of events very considerably: the revelation of the traitor is placed after the Last Supper, not before (Luke 22:21–23), the quarrel among the disciples (Luke

[1] For list see Appendix I, list IV A.

[2] For list see Appendix I, list V A.

[3] For list see Appendix I, list V B.

22:24–27) is brought into the same context from a point some four chapters earlier, and the mocking of Jesus by the police (Luke 22:63–65) and the account of Peter's denials (Luke 22:56–62) are mutually reversed and then placed before, not after, the trial of Jesus by the Sanhedrin. In addition there are fourteen transpositions of verses or portions of verses, of which only five (Luke 23:19, 32, 38, 54; 24:10*a*) are mere descriptive details, and two more are really repetitions (Luke 22:40, 70). This leaves seven small but important transpositions to be added to the four longer ones above: the departure from the upper room (22:39), the meeting of the Sanhedrin (22:66), Jesus' answer to the priests (22:70*b*), the charges against Jesus (23:2), the crucifixion of the outlaws (23:33*b*), the draft of vinegar (23:36), and the disaster to the Temple (23:45*b*). All these occur in the later portion of the Passion-narrative, Luke 22:14—24:11; but there is also one transposition in the earlier portion, the editorial summary in Luke 21:37 (cf. Mark 11:19).

While, then, the number of transpositions in the Passion-narrative (19) is not disproportionate to that in the earlier portion of the Gospel (15), it is evident that their importance, particularly in the third section, is far greater; and an explanation must be found also for this apparent marked change in the evangelist's literary method.

IV. INTERWEAVING AND CONFLATION

The fourth principle of Luke's literary method (see p. 19), that the evangelist endeavors to interweave his materials as closely as possible about any nexus of common data, will apply with peculiar force to a Passion-narrative, where we find, even in Mark, a closely knit and rapidly moving tale, and where the insertion of any large block of materials, such as a lengthy discourse by Jesus before Pilate or Herod, would be obviously inappropriate, and where even such an address as that in John 13–17 seriously interrupts the thread of the story. Hence we find that the phenomena described above, especially in the matter of addition and transposition of materials, result in a narrative which reveals a large measure of interweaving of non-Markan materials with those more similar to Mark, and even some instances of quite apparent conflation of sources in minute details. This is, it is true, a new feature in Luke's literary method (but cf. Luke 3:16); but it is the natural result of the more closely knit character of the Passion-narrative and the necessarily fixed outline of any narration of the close of Jesus' life (cf. even the Fourth Gospel) reacting upon the third evangelist's custom of interweaving his sources in blocks. Conflation or interpolation

of sources becomes a characteristic literary phenomenon of the Passion-narrative, and as such merits a brief description.

First, it must be observed that interpolation or conflation can be proved only when it is clumsily done; but there are sufficient instances of conflation of unassimilated sources in the Passion-narrative to demonstrate the presence of the phenomenon.[1] These appear to be of two types: (*a*) cases where the interpolated fragment interrupts and breaks the thought or is needlessly redundant (cf. Luke 21:16–17, 20–22; 22:69–71); and (*b*) cases where it is merely added as an afterthought (cf. Luke 24:10*a*), a phenomenon which Luke has consistently eliminated in his dealing with his Markan source (see p. 17, and cf. Luke 8:42*a*, 55*b*; 9:14*a*).

Secondly, in some at least of the instances, it appears to be a conflation of documents. Thus in the passage from the Apocalyptic Discourse describing the siege of Jerusalem (Luke 21:20–22), the interruption is so rude as to quite preclude the supposition that the interpolation was anything but documentary. Verse 20 begins with a description of the siege of the city (a reference quite diverse from the Markan suggestion of a desecration of the Temple). Verse 21*a* agrees exactly with Mark in both the choice and the order of the words. Its reference is to the country regions of the province, and the passage which follows it in Mark (closely paralleled in Luke 17:31–32) refers to rural conditions rather than to the life of the capital. But the succeeding passage in Luke (vss. 21*b*–22) harks back to the city; the proper antecedent of *αὐτῆς* and *αὐτήν* can only be the city, since "those in the country" are forbidden to "enter into her." Omission of the interpolated Markan passage (vs. 21*a*) restores the continuity of the thought, and makes, not *τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ*, but *Ἰερουσαλήμ*, the proper grammatical antecedent of the pronouns. But such an undigested context as this could never result from the adding of ideas in the author's mind, and it must be purely documentary and mechanical.

Thirdly, this interpolation occurs either when the groundwork of the narrative is Markan, as in the interpolation of the epigram concerning the Stone of Stumbling (Luke 20:18), or non-Markan, as in the case above.

V. SOURCES OF THE NON-MARKAN MATERIALS

The investigations above have brought to light sufficient data to permit us to form a preliminary estimate of the nature of the sources

[1] For list see Appendix I, list VI.

from which the evangelist drew the non-Markan materials of his Passion-narrative. Such an estimate will have to be more fully developed, tested, perhaps revised, when the full extent of these materials is revealed; but the data already accumulated are sufficient to reveal its general form.

The first supposition would be that the evangelist drew these materials from oral tradition. Surely there must have been many tales concerning the closing days of Jesus' life, above all, of that supreme tragedy about which centered the faith of the church; and what more likely than that the evangelist, visiting Jerusalem in company with Paul (cf. Acts 21:15), should have gathered these for use in his preaching, stored them in his mind, and set them down upon papyrus for perhaps the first time when he came to write his account for Theophilus? This, assuredly, would be the simplest hypothesis, and would in part satisfy our craving to find some place in the process of gospel-making for the influence of the oral tradition; but do the data corroborate this hypothesis?

Most important of these data are the transpositions of materials more or less closely paralleled in Mark, especially of those more considerable blocks, with the corrections of the Markan narrative which follow upon such changes in the order of events. In an evangelist with the avowed purpose of the historian, who is usually so scrupulous about the historical order of events, this can mean but one thing, namely, that these events were definitely located, by some authority at his disposal, in an order which differed from the Markan. Had these traditions come to him in scattered fragments, the written document which lay before him must inevitably have prevailed to fix their order.

Two possibilities, then, lie open before us: either a considerable portion of these non-Markan materials was drawn from a connected source, oral or written, or else some one or more of those who could speak with authority of the events in question (cf. Luke 1:2) was at pains to point out to the third evangelist the particulars in which the second evangelist had been in error.

This latter possibility appears to offer an attractive solution of the problem, and we should like to picture the beloved physician sitting at the feet of one of the apostles or of the women who had ministered to Jesus; but difficulties arise in the application of the hypothesis. First of these is the extent of the changes introduced: Luke's informant must have told him that the Markan version of the Apocalyptic Discourse was not the original; that Peter and John were the stewards for the

Last Supper; that in the Markan account of the Supper both the order of events and the order of the elements was incorrect; that Jesus did not waken the disciples in Gethsemane thrice but only once; that Jesus healed the ear of the high priest's servant and made a far more significant remark on the occasion of his arrest than that recorded by Mark; that his trial was not by night but delayed until morning, and that it was not a true trial at all, since no verdict was reached; that Peter's denials were separated by certain intervals, and that his repentance came with a glance from Jesus; that the Roman soldiers mocked Jesus, not upon his condemnation (Mark 15:16), but when he hung upon the cross (Luke 23:36); that the centurion at the cross really bespoke himself like a pagan and not like a believer; that Joseph of Arimathaea had really defended Jesus; that the tomb was a new one; and finally that the Resurrection appearances were not in Galilee but in and about Jerusalem. These sixteen points are all either corrections by Luke where he substitutes another account for the Markan, transpositions of the Markan order, or points which appear incapable of independent transmission, and which must therefore involve a version of the whole story in which they appear unless they are explicit corrections of the Markan version. But taken together their extent is so considerable as to constitute practically a running commentary upon the whole of the Passion-story. But the Christians of the apostolic age were not commentators, scholastics, least of all where their own infant records were concerned. Nor is it at all likely that Luke would have brought his copy of Mark—a Greek gospel—to the Jewish church in Jerusalem in the brief period that intervened between the probable date of our earliest Gospel and Titus' destruction of the Holy City. Further, be it remarked that such a theory of correction fails entirely to account both for that marked change in the amount of Luke's agreement with Mark, linguistically, which has been pointed out, and for the limitation of this change to the Passion-story. And, finally, as far as can be determined, the transpositions of any serious import in earlier portions of the Third Gospel are due to the use of a non-Markan source of definite construction.

The hypothesis that Luke was set right on points where Mark had erred becomes therefore scarcely tenable, and we are left to the alternative that at least a considerable portion of the non-Markan materials came to the third evangelist as a definitely ordered narration. It remains to inquire whether this theory is in accord with the known facts.

It is true that certain of the non-Markan materials of the Passion-narrative are quite capable of independent transmission as mere frag-

ments of the oral tradition. Such are pre-eminently the short "logia" of Jesus, of which many are inserted into the narration (for example, Luke 19:41–44; 20:18; 22:28–30, 35–39, 67*b*–68). Some of the incidents related also *might* be gleaned by a visitor to Jerusalem: the descent of the Mount of Olives (Luke 19:37, a striking sign of acquaintance with the actual scene) *may* early have been marked by a tiny oratory, not only as the spot where Jesus was met by the crowds and halted to lament the city, but also as the scene of the Apocalyptic Discourse and perhaps of the withering of the fig tree. The order of the elements in the Eucharist, certainly not the Pauline (cf. I Cor. 11:23–25), may have been that of the Jerusalem community, with which a pilgrim would surely be struck, or possibly even a ritual for the Agape; if there were two versions of the Lord's Prayer (cf. Luke 11:2–4; Matt. 6:9–13), equal diversity in the Eucharist was possible; though it is strange that Luke the Pauline evangelist and not Mark the native of Jerusalem (cf. Acts 12:12) should record for us the Jerusalem usage. Yet the extent of the materials which cannot have been so gathered, and must have stood in a source which possessed definite order and construction of its own, remains large enough to form practically a complete narrative of the Passion-history, a "little gospel." Economy of hypothesis would suggest that these other materials also were then a part of it.

But if there was another complete account of the close of Jesus' life, it necessarily follows that it must have overlapped the Markan account at many points. A comparison of the Passion-narrative of the Fourth Gospel, which at other points is so different, with that of the Synoptics is sufficient to show how closely any story of this portion of Jesus' career must adhere to the accepted outline. There must then have been very many duplicate accounts in the two sources which Luke would appear to have used, and this fact becomes of importance in view of the marked decrease of Luke's agreement with Mark. In other words the supposition is raised that an account of an event, although told also in Mark, may, if related in considerably different terms, be taken from a somewhat extensive and complete non-Markan Passion-history.

As to whether the Passion-history came to the evangelist in oral or in written form, it is not possible to decide on the basis of the evidence yet adduced. But the preservation of an oral cycle in a form sufficiently fixed to outweigh the definite arrangement of the written Markan document is a sufficiently difficult hypothesis. The character of certain of the interpolations, also, appears to indicate that the evangelist must have been dealing not with one written source only, but with two.

It must therefore be concluded that for a considerable portion of the materials of his Passion-narrative the third evangelist possessed a second narrative—possibly a cycle of oral tradition, but more probably a written document—with a fixed form and unity of its own. This source, since it deals exclusively with scenes of Jesus' life laid in Jerusalem, will for the rest of this study be designated as the "Jerusalem source" and indicated by the letter "J."

CHAPTER III

THE NON-MARKAN MATERIALS IN THE PASSION-NARRATIVE

It now becomes our task to determine more exactly just what materials are to be assigned to the Jerusalem source. In this task the first and most prominent criterion of non-Markan materials must, of course, be found in want of agreement with the Second Gospel; and all of the materials which are peculiar to Luke, with a considerable portion, at least, of those which are only remotely parallel to our earliest Gospel, must be regarded as of non-Markan origin, even when not assignable to J upon more specific grounds. But, since narratives of the Passion-history must run closely parallel, it must also be regarded as possible that materials more closely in agreement with Mark are also either drawn from J or employed to replace similar materials that must have stood in that source also. The materials of our study may be divided, therefore, according to their agreement with the Second Gospel, into three classes:[1]

Class I. Materials peculiar to Luke.

Class II. Materials in which there is but a slight agreement with the Markan parallel.

Class III. Materials in which the agreement is fairly close.

However, while the first criterion of non-Markan origin is this want of agreement, it is evident both that mere remoteness from Mark is not sufficient ground for assigning materials to J, and also that materials not thus dissimilar to Mark may upon other grounds be assigned to J. Since, as we have seen (p. 19), Luke habitually uses his sources in blocks of considerable size, a strong presumption is created that materials which stand near to, or in any sort of connection with, the materials clearly assignable to a non-Markan source were also drawn from the same source. Indeed, this is the chief significance of the general want of agreement with

[1] For list see Appendix I, lists I, II, and III. A satisfactory basis for the discrimination of "remote parallels" is hardly to be discovered, as the parallelism depends upon more than the merely mechanical fact of agreement in language; for such agreement may consist entirely in unimportant words, or, on the other hand, slight agreement in the key-words may be of great importance. As an arbitrary means of discrimination, however, agreement in 40 per cent of the language in narrative sections (including parables) and in 50 per cent of the words in discourse passages (except the narrative portion of parables) has been taken as "close parallelism."

Mark throughout the section Luke 22:14—24:11. This fact can hardly be too strongly emphasized. To the mechanical fact of diversity from the Markan version there must be added, therefore, further criteria by which the J materials of the Passion-narrative may be discriminated. These principles of discrimination will be:

1) That the material corrects or alters in a significant degree the Markan account;

2) that it has definite narrative relations which cannot be accounted for by the Markan source;

3) that it has definite discourse relations which cannot be accounted for by the Markan source;

4) that its context contains J materials;

5) that it betrays a point of view similar to J, or is otherwise related to the J materials; or

6) that, while non-Markan, the material must have had some source more definite than floating traditions (principle of economy of hypothesis).

It is now our task to examine in detail the materials of the Passion-narrative, and by the application of these principles to discriminate such of them as appear to have been drawn from some non-Markan source of definite order and form, that is, from J. But since the chief criterion of such assignment must still be want of agreement with Mark, our method must be first to seek in each section of the narrative for some materials of Class I or Class II (which show this want of agreement), and then to determine the application to them, and to the remaining materials of the section, of the principles of discrimination.

It must be noted, also, that the J source, equally with the Markan, is liable to editorial revision, and that we may often expect to find materials which may well have been drawn from J standing in the narrative in language which is largely that of the evangelist. But such materials must, of course, be regarded in our examination of the J source, as must also even those cases where it is evident that something has been omitted from J or replaced by a bit of Markan material.

Turning now to a consideration of the Passion-narrative, it has already been observed that in respect of agreement with Mark it falls into four sections, the first (Luke 19:1–27) containing no Mark-parallel materials, the second (Luke 19:28—22:13) possessing considerable agreement with Mark, the third (Luke 22:14—24:11) but remotely parallel to Mark, and the fourth (Luke 24:13–53) extending beyond the point where our original Mark breaks off. The first of these seems rather

to have been drawn from P than from J; for it stands previous to the triumphal entry (the natural beginning of a Passion-gospel), and its affinities are rather with P materials. The idea of repentance as effective in securing salvation is shared by the incident of Zacchaeus with the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican (Luke 18:9–14), and the parabolic form of the second incident (Luke 19:11–27) connects it rather with P than with J, since J contains no other parable. In the second section, also, it will be observed that the non-Markan materials are inserted mainly in two blocks (cf. principle 3, p. 19), the first (Luke 19:37–44) describing Jesus' appearance in Jerusalem, and the second (Luke 21:12–38) containing an Apocalyptic Discourse. These materials must be examined more closely.

I. JESUS' PUBLIC MINISTRY IN JERUSALEM

1. *Jesus' approach to Jerusalem* (Luke 19:28–40).—This section contains at least two and one-half verses of Class I, peculiar to Luke, that is, vss. 37*a*, 39, 40. These must be assigned to J upon principle 2, since a further narrative setting is needed to explain Jesus' presence in Jerusalem and to describe the reason for the Pharisees' vexation. But the presence of these is sufficient to render probable the presence of other J materials also. Verse 37, it will be noticed, contains not a single agreement with Mark, and it is likely, therefore, that the whole verse, and not merely the very definite designation of the site, was drawn from J. But vs. 37 hardly gives an adequate occasion for the anger of the Pharisees, for there Jesus is hailed simply for his mighty works; so that vs. 38, with its ascription to Jesus of greater honor, is necessary to the J context (cf. principle 2). This verse, moreover, while belonging to Class III, shows such free recasting and such diversity in the order of the common words that its agreements should be explained rather by a common reminiscence of the Old Testament language than from the Markan source. The block vss. 37–40 may therefore be ascribed to J as a whole; but even this lacks an adequate introduction and setting. Verses 29–36 are plainly drawn from the Markan source; but vs. 28 contains a detail which is not explicit in Mark, and which is necessary to the J block which follows. This too may therefore be assigned to J (principles 2, 4), although probably largely editorial in its present language, and though the opening of the J narrative (if it did begin at this point) must have been a more extended fixing of the scene.

2. *Jesus' lament over Jerusalem* (Luke 19:41–44).—This section is entirely from Class I, and is of such nature that its independent

transmission in oral tradition would not be difficult. It betrays the same interest in the Fall of Jerusalem which actuates other portions of J (cf. Luke 21:20–24; 23:27–31) and appears in no other portion of the Gospel (Luke 13:34–35, even, implies a spiritual, not a physical, disaster). It may therefore (principle 5) be assigned to J.

3. *Jesus' public ministry in Jerusalem* (Luke 19:47–48).—The account of the Cleansing of the Temple is obviously Markan, and seems to exclude any considerable period of activity by Jesus in Jerusalem. But these verses, of Class II agreement, though in their present form considerably rewrought, contain a number of elements not found in Mark. Chief of these is the indication of a longer period of ministry in Jerusalem than the short week usually accepted on the basis of Mark and John.[1] As this appears again in J (?) materials (principle 5; see page 74), the verses may have been drawn from J. Moreover, they stand in the same context with (principle 4), and seem to form the conclusion to (principle 2), the block of J materials just preceding, and may therefore be ascribed to J. But editorial handling, and perhaps interpolation of a few Markan elements, must remain an admitted possibility.

4. *The "Stone of Stumbling"* (Luke 20:17–18).—The comment, "everyone that falleth on that stone," etc., verse 18, is non-Markan, Class I; but it has no particular connection with the preceding J materials. In vs. 17 (Class II) only the quotation agrees with Mark; so there may possibly have been no use of the Markan source. Moreover, vs. 18 requires some previous definition, and it seems probable that the two verses circulated together, perhaps in some volume of "christological prophecies," like the later ἐκλογαί of Melito of Sardis (Eus. *H.E.* iv. 26. 13), or the *Testimonia* of Cyprian, and that the presence of the prophecy in both sources was the nexus for the insertion of vs. 18 here, although it had no bearing upon the theme of the parable.

5. *Jesus and the Intellectuals* (Luke 20:20–38).—In this passage there are two verses of Class I (34, 35*a*, 36*b*) and three more of Class II (20, 26, 35*b*–36*a*). Verses 20, 26 are connected with one another by the use in each of the phrase ἐπιλαβέσθαι αὐτοῦ λόγου (ῥήματος), which occurs nowhere else in the New Testament (ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι is a characteristic Lukan word, but in a novel sense here); and together they constitute an epitome of the attempt to involve Jesus in difficulties, which follows well upon the last J passage (Luke 19:47–48). The motive in the two verses is different—in vs. 20 to compromise Jesus in the eyes of the

[1] Cf. J. Wellhausen, *Das Evangelium Lucae*, p. 110.

Roman authorities, in vs. 26 of the people—but undoubtedly both of these things were necessary; and such editorial expansion as we have here, if the only source be Markan, is not usual with Luke, whose tendency is rather to slight abbreviation. But the hypothesis that the purpose of these verses is to serve as an epitome of the attacks is shaken by the inclusion of vss. 34–36 in the same source; so it must be with large reservations that the verses are included in the J materials (principle 6); while vss. 21–25, in spite of the peculiar word *φόρος* (a mere improvement of the Latinism *κῆνσος*), of which Bernhard Weiss[1] makes much, are certainly derived simply from Mark.

So also is the problem of the Woman with Seven Husbands (vss. 27–33); but the three following verses (34–36) present a problem. Verses 34–35*a*, 36*b* contain elements not found at all in Mark, and must therefore be placed in Class I, and the remainder are in but general agreement with Mark. But they are incomplete as they stand, and require some connection (perhaps a widow's query regarding marriage in the future state, or possibly a command to celibacy); yet they do not seem to connect with any contiguous J materials. However, the passage can hardly be merely an editorial expansion, for its oracular form and its balanced construction give it a more original appearance than the Mark parallel, and it cannot have stood alone. Either, therefore, it must be assumed to be a more original form of the Markan source, or it must be assigned (principle 6) to some portion of J. Verses 37–38 show no more than the usual amount of editorial revision of Markan materials; and the rest of the chapter is plainly drawn from the Markan source.

II. THE APOCALYPTIC DISCOURSE

It has long been recognized that the Lukan version of the Apocalyptic Discourse differs very considerably from the Markan version, which is largely followed by the First Gospel. Attention has been centered, in particular, upon the closer definition of the siege of Jerusalem in the Lukan account; but it has generally been taken for granted that here the third evangelist was recasting the Markan prediction of the desecration of the Temple in view of his own knowledge of the events of the destruction of the city. But it has already been shown (see p. 26) that this hypothesis is hardly adequate and that there is reason to believe that Luke was making use, in this very passage, not of one documentary source, but of two. We may with reason, therefore, seek still other J materials in the discourse.

[1] Bernhard Weiss, *Die Quellen des Lukasevangeliums*, pp. 213 ff.

As peculiar materials (Class I) may be listed vss. 18, 24, 25*b*–26*a*, 28; and as remote parallels (Class II) vss. 11–16, 19–20, 21*b*–22, 23*b*, 34–36. These two groups of materials are sufficient to form a definitely constructed discourse; and therefore (principle 3) so far as they are not Markan they should be ascribed to J. The presence of materials of Class I creates a presumption that those of Class II also are non-Markan; but these must be more closely examined.

1. *The persecution of the disciples* (Luke 21:12–19).—In this section we may start from the single peculiar verse (18). This is here usually interpreted of *spiritual* salvation;[1] but it must be observed that it is elsewhere always used, not only in the Old Testament (I Sam. 14:45; II Sam. 14:11; I Kings 1:52), but also in Luke (Luke 12:7; Acts 27:34) of *physical* preservation; therefore while this phrase must here have early received a spiritual interpretation, it would yet seem to have been intended literally in the first instance. Such a literal interpretation agrees, furthermore, with the expression in vs. 15 of the confidence that the inspiration of the Christian would carry him through all dangers and give him irresistible eloquence. Indeed, joining vss. 15 and 18, we have a self-consistent and coherent context. This, however, throws suspicion upon vss. 16–17, which interrupt this connection. Verse 17 is in entire agreement with Mark and may be dismissed at once as drawn from that source; but vs. 16 stands upon the border line of agreement and has been listed in Class II. It contains, however, no ideas (save the addition of φίλων) not present in the Markan parallel, and its want of agreement in language is largely due to the Lukan tendency to generalize (cf. Luke 18:29=Mark 10:29), which gives it a secondary appearance, aside from its agreements with Mark. Since it moreover flatly contradicts vs. 18, it is probably Markan. Verse 14 is closely connected with, and essential to, vs. 15, and therefore (principle 3) assigned to J. So, also, the first clause of vs. 12, which is quite different in language from the Markan parallel; but the latter clauses of this same verse contain many agreements with Mark, and may be interpolations from that source, though the only sign of conflation here is a slight degree of redundancy. But vs. 13 is an entire recasting of the Markan phrase and probably (principles 1, 4) from J. So in a greater degree vs. 19, which concludes the paragraph; for while the Markan version refers plainly to salvation at the final consummation (τέλος), this verse appears to refer rather to an imminent and a physical salvation, thus connecting with vs. 18 (principles 1, 3, 5).

[1] Cf., for example, Plummer, *St. Luke*, p. 480; B. Weiss, *op. cit.*, p. 273; Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 117, etc.

Thus in the paragraph Luke 21:12–19 we have a J discourse with Markan interpolations in vss. 16–17 and perhaps 12*bc*.

2. *The destruction of Jerusalem* (Luke 21:20–24).—The first part of this paragraph has already been discussed (p. 26) and vss. 20, 21*b* assigned to J. This assignment is further supported by the presence of vss. 22, 24, which are from Class I. Verse 23*b* (Class II) seems closely connected with vs. 24 (principle 3), while vs. 23*a* is in entire agreement with Mark and probably, like vs. 21*a*, drawn from that source; since, while it does not interrupt the connection, it is not essential to it. This paragraph also, then, is drawn from J, with Markan interpolations in vss. 21*a*, 23*a*.

3. *The overthrow of the Gentiles* (Luke 21:25–28).—In this paragraph there are two verses (25*b*–26*a*, 28) of Class I materials and two verses (25*a*, 26*b*–27) of Class III. Between vss. 27 and 28 there is an obvious contradiction;[1] for it is a decided anticlimax to bid the faithful to *begin* to hope after the Parousia of their Lord, the central point of their hope, has come to pass. Here also, therefore, we have conflation of two sources, and to vs. 28 we may join (principle 3) its necessary introduction, vss. 25*b*–26*a*. Verse 25*a* also, although of Class III, presents but a slight similarity to the Markan parallel, and may well have belonged to J; but vs. 26*b* agrees with Matthew (Matt. 24:29*c*) and is probably, like the verse that follows it, Markan. In this paragraph then we have a J discourse with one interpolation from Mark, vss. 26*b*–27.

4. *Introduction of the Apocalyptic Discourse in J* (Luke 21:5–11).—The paragraph Luke 21:5–11 is largely parallel to Mark, although treated with considerable freedom in editorial revision, and showing considerable less agreement with Mark than does the corresponding passage in Matthew. There are few added ideas not implied in Mark; most important of these are ἀναθήμασιν in vs. 5, the addition ὁ καιρὸς ἤγγικεν . . . . ὀπίσω αὐτῶν in vs. 8, and the latter clause of vs. 11. The first of these, however, is not significant, and the second may easily be an editorial reminiscence from the general fund of apocalyptic. The fact, further, that a doublet of vs. 6*b*, in Luke 19:44*b*, has already been ascribed to J supports the hypothesis of Markan origin (cf. pp. 17–18), and also suggests that Luke 19:41–44 may have formed the original introduction to the Apocalyptic Discourse in J. And that paragraph does indeed form a smooth connection with the discourse, if the intervening fragments of materials possibly derived from J be omitted.

[1] Cf. Bernhard Weiss, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

However, in vs. 10 there is a new introduction—*τότε ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς*—and the remainder of the verse, while in total agreement with Mark, is merely an Old Testament quotation (cf. Isa. 19:2); so that, omitting vs. 11*a* as interpolated by the evangelist or a later scribe from Mark, we have in vss. 10, 11*b* a sufficient introduction for the discourse, which may very possibly be assigned to J.

5. *The lesson of the coming disaster* (Luke 21:34–36).—There can be no doubt that Luke 21:29–33 are entirely Markan; the exact agreement of the application, verses 32–33, with Mark, in language and in order, is sufficient proof, while greater editorial freedom is usually to be expected in the narrative portion of a parable (cf. Luke 8:4–15 and parallels).

Verses 34–36 stand in the same position as a Markan warning; but here the similarity ends, and this exhortation should be ascribed therefore to J as the conclusion of that version of the discourse (principle 3).

6. *Conclusion of the discourse* (Luke 21:37–38).—These two verses find a remote parallel, much less complete, in Mark 11:19; but the two facts of considerable expansion and of transposition to this location (principle 1), with the connection of these verses with J materials (principle 4), would seem to indicate that these verses, though perhaps editorial in their present form, were drawn from J. To this evidence must be added the fact that here again, as in 19:47 and 22:39 (principle 5; but also in 20:1), Jesus' ministry in Jerusalem is represented as having been one of considerable duration.

It would therefore appear that we have in the Apocalyptic Discourse of Luke largely an apocalypse from the J source, which probably included Luke 21:10, 11*b*, 12*a*, 13–15, 18–20, 21*b*–22, 23*b*–26*a*, 28, 34–38; and which was interpolated, by the evangelist probably, from the Markan source.

III. THE LAST SUPPER AND THE FAREWELL DISCOURSE

The next considerable block of materials not paralleled in Mark (Class I) is found in the twenty-second chapter. Here the amount of peculiar materials (Luke 22:15–17, 27*ab*, 28–32, 35–38) is so considerable as to constitute really another discourse, and this discourse (Luke 22:24–38) has a definite construction of its own: first, the attention is diverted from the honors of discipleship to its responsibilities (vss. 24–27); then the promise is given of due rewards for responsibilities already met (vss. 28–30), followed by an affirmation of the peculiar responsibility of the leader in view of the peril of all (vss. 31–32); and finally there is a

solemn warning of the reality of that peril (vss. 35–38). This Farewell Discourse, like that of the Fourth Gospel, is brought into connection with the Last Supper.

1. *The Last Supper* (Luke 22:14–23).—In this section there is a problem of the text which it is not our present province to solve; vss. 19*b*–20 are bracketed by Westcott and Hort as a "Western non-interpolation," but are accepted by von Soden and by Tischendorf; while Harnack[1] argues that the evangelist who incorporated Luke 24:30 and Acts 27:35 could hardly have omitted here the breaking of the bread. On the other hand vss. 19–20 are in very close agreement with I Cor. 11:23–25, and it is necessary either to agree with Wellhausen[2] that they were interpolated from that source by a later hand, simply because the Lukan account in vss. 14–18 varied so greatly from the familiar ritual of the Eucharist, or to suppose that Luke himself, the companion of Paul, has here inserted the ritual familiar to both of them. In either case the verses would seem to have been drawn from the oral tradition of the ritual rather than from a more connected historical narrative. The problem remains, however, whether the division is to be made at the beginning of vs. 19 with Wellhausen, or after the words *τό σῶμά μου*, as by Westcott and Hort; for in the latter case there is involved a transposition of the order of the elements which must likewise be attributed to J (principle 1). It may be noted that the phenomena of literary agreement (the close agreement with I Corinthians in particular) favor Wellhausen's explanation; but here, as elsewhere, we shall not go back of the Westcott-Hort text.[3]

The section falls into two halves, the Supper (vss. 14–20) and the Announcement of the Betrayal (vss. 21–23); the transposition of the two events from their Markan order is evidence (principle 1; cf. literary principle 1, p. 19) that both portions stood in the J source. In the former portion there are: of Class I agreements, vss. 15–16, and perhaps vs. 17; of Class II, vss. 14, 17; of Class III, vss. 18–19*a*. Of these it is evident that vss. 14–16 are drawn from J, and since the remark in vs. 17 is so different from that reported by Mark, this too is probably drawn from J. Verse 18 agrees with Mark in 14 of 21 words, or 66 per cent;

[1] *Luke the Physician*, p. 76; *Lukas der Arzt*, p. 53.

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 121 f.

[3] If vss. 19–20 be accepted as original to the Third Gospel, the duplication of the ritual may perhaps be explained by the suggestion that the evangelist regarded the J version, vss. 15–17 (and 18?), as an account of, or a ritual for, the *Agape*, and inserted in addition the familiar ritual of the Eucharist.

but it also agrees with vs. 16 in 10 words, or 48 per cent. This suggests, since repetition is a characteristic of J (cf. Luke 23:4, 14, 22; 23:16, 22; and p. 63), that vs. 18, whose similarity to Mark does not pass the limits of agreement for a doublet, is really a "veiled doublet" and was drawn from the J source. Verse 19*a*, if we follow the Westcott-Hort text, although it agrees with Mark in 12 of 14 words, or 86 per cent (and in 10 words, 70 per cent, with I Corinthians), must be assigned to J upon principle 1, since a transposition must involve both of the transposed elements. Verses 18–19*a* may, however, have been affected by the Markan language.

In the latter portion of the section, vss. 21–23, we find two verses of Class II (21, 23) and one of Class III (22). The latter is probably a Markan interpolation; but vss. 21, 23, sufficient in themselves to relate the incident, are probably drawn from J, since, as we have seen above, the transposition proves J to have contained some account of the incident (principle 1). Verse 23, however, a concluding sentence, may have received considerable editorial re-working.

We have, then, in this section a J account in the main, with a Markan interpolation in vs. 22, and perhaps a substitution of Markan for J materials in vss. 18–19*a*.

2. *Introduction to the account of the Last Supper* (Luke 22:8).— It will now be observed that this J account must have had, in its original form, some fuller introduction, to which reference is made in vs. 14 in the phrase ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡ ὥρα; and of this we must seek traces. The preceding paragraph, Luke 22:7–13, agrees with Mark with unusual fidelity, however, save in one particular: in vs. 8 there is a specific designation of the two disciples by name, and the conversation is so recast that it is here Jesus, not, as in Mark, the disciples, who introduces the subject of preparing the Supper. Neither of these traits passes the limits of Luke's editorial treatment;[1] but their coincidence here (principle 1), together with the fact that the verse does form a good introduction to the account of the Supper (principle 2), may indicate that vs. 8, with the possible exception of the words τὸ πάσχα, rests upon the J source.

In Luke 22:1–6 there are also two verses (3–4) belonging to Class II; but the entire section is more or less introductory and therefore less liable to close agreement with Mark, and these verses contain no new elements, except the specification of Σατανᾶς (which is probably doctrinal)

[1] For specific designation cf. Luke 8:45, where the context, vs. 46, has a similar change in the dialogue. For the latter cf. also Luke 9:7, and the compression of conversations in Luke 9:12–15, 46–48.

and of the στρατηγοί (a point of fact which might have been added by any well-informed pilgrim to Jerusalem), and they do not stand in any connection with the J materials which precede or follow. Therefore they are hardly to be assigned to J.

3. *The greatness of responsibility* (Luke 22:24–27).—This section has a remote parallel in Mark 10:42–45; but vs. 27*ab* belongs to Class I, and the rest of the section to Class II. This fact, together with the transposition (principle 1), and the place of the section in the Farewell Discourse (principle 3), is sufficient to fix this section as J material. Verse 24, however, in its agreement with Luke 9:46, would appear to have received considerable revision.

4. *The reward of responsibility* (Luke 22:28–30).—This section has no Markan parallel, though remotely paralleled in Matthew (Matt. 19:28). As a part of the discourse (principle 3) it is to be assigned to J.

5. *A warning to Peter* (Luke 22:31–34).—In this section vss. 31–32 are from Class I, vs. 33 from Class II, and vs. 34 from Class III. As a part of the discourse, then, vss. 31–32, at least, are to be assigned to J. Between these verses, however, and vs. 33 there appears to be a break in the sense: the former speak of temptation, the latter of physical peril; the former of the danger of all the disciples (ὑμῶν), and of Peter in terms similar to those of Matthew 16:18, the latter apparently of Peter's peculiar peril, as in the Markan version; the former addresses him as Simon, and vs. 34 as Peter. Moreover, the connection of vss. 35–38 with the prophecy of the peril of all in vs. 32 is far more intimate than that with the prediction of Peter's disloyalty in vs. 34. Thus vs. 34 appears to have no inherent connection with the J discourse. Verse 33, it is true, might be regarded as a parenthesis in that discourse; but it has the same secondary aspect that appears in other Markan interpolations (cf., for example, 21:16). There remains no reason for regarding vs. 34 as other than Markan.

6. *The peril of the disciples* (Luke 22:35–38).—This section is Class I material and likewise connected with the Farewell Discourse; it is therefore (principles 1, 3) to be ascribed to J.

7. *Conclusion of the Farewell Discourse* (Luke 22:39).—The transposition of the departure from the upper room to a point after the warning to Peter (cf. Mark 14:26) would indicate (principle 1) that vs. 39 stood in J. Moreover, the phrase κατὰ τὸ ἔθος connects with other indications of a rather extended stay in Jerusalem (principle 5), and it may be concluded that the materials of this conclusion of the Farewell Discourse were drawn from J.

IV. EVENTS CONNECTED WITH THE ARREST OF JESUS

1. *Jesus' spiritual struggle* (Luke 22:40–46).—In this section there are no materials from Class I (since vss. 43–44 are rejected as a "Western interpolation"), but the presence of additional exact details (ὡσεὶ λίθου βολήν, ἀπὸ τῆς λύπης) and the transposition of the warning in vs. 40 (cf. Mark 14:38) seem to indicate the presence of J materials. The transposition, indeed, is sufficient to prove the derivation of vs. 40 from J (principle 1), whether it be regarded as a real transposition or as an instance of the inclusion of the two members of a doublet (cf. vs. 46) drawn from different sources.

In vs. 41–46, however, besides the addition of exact details (which appears as a J characteristic in 19:37, and later in 22:56–60, and is never so positive as here in earlier editorial additions, even in the section Luke 9:28–37), there is also a change in the form of Jesus' words of submission (vs. 42*b*) which seems rather an independent rendering in translation than a natural editorial improvement; and the repetition of the phrase of warning, in slightly varying language, marks another J characteristic (principle 5; cf. p. 63), which suggests that both vs. 40*b* and vs. 46*b* were drawn from J. Further, vss. 41, 45 are only "remote parallels" (Class II), and the only close agreement with Mark is in the sayings (vss. 42, 46), which—the former for its sentimental associations, and the latter for its gnomic import—must both have been widely circulated. Finally, Luke reduces the number of Jesus' appeals to the disciples (principle 1 ?) by the omission of four verses of Mark. It seems probable, therefore, that most of this account was drawn from J; the reference to the "cup" (vs. 42*a*) may be Markan; but the "cup" seems to have been a familiar feature of the Passion-story (cf. John 18:11; also Mark 10:38).

2. *Jesus betrayed and arrested* (Luke 22:47–54*a*).—The peculiar materials of this section (vss. 48, 49, 51, 53*c*) demand a narrative setting, and hence we may be sure (principle 2) that J contained an account of the event. To Class II, however, belong only vss. 47*b*, 52*a;* to Class III, vss. 47*a*, 50, 52*b*, 53*ab*. Conflation may then be suspected here, and certain signs of it are to be found. First, vs. 50 is quite unessential to the connection of vss. 49 and 51*a*, indeed slightly interrupts it, and the specific detail added by Luke that it was the *right* ear is paralleled by a similar editorial addition in Luke 6:6; so the verse may well enough have been drawn from Mark. But vs. 51*b* is dependent upon vs. 50; therefore, while such a reference to healing *might* have been made by the evangelist upon his own responsibility (cf. 4:40; 9:11), or he *may* even have been personally acquainted (as perhaps the fourth evangelist was, cf. John

18:10) with the subject of the miracle, yet it is easier to believe, since the order of the words in vs. 50 is quite different from the Markan order, that not only the healing, but the stroke that occasioned it, was related in J.

A more certain sign of conflation is perhaps to be found in the disparity of the grounds of complaint in vss. 52*b* and 53*c;* in the former Jesus complains because of the show of force made against him, in the latter because of the secrecy of his arrest. But since vs. 52*b* agrees verbatim with Mark, it must be ascribed to that source, while vs. 53*c* belongs to Class I and is presumably from J. It is moreover incomplete without some definition of its setting (the initial αὕτη refers backward), and is on this account to be referred to J (principle 2).

In vs. 53*ab* the phrase ἐκτείνειν τὰς χεῖρας ἐπί τινα occurs, which is found nowhere else in Luke, while his customary locution is ἐπιβάλλειν τὰς χεῖρας (Luke 20:19; 21:12; Acts 4:3; 5:18; 12:1; 21:27); yet this portion of the verse contains no elements not found in Mark, and it seems to connect with the Markan complaint (vs. 52*b*) more closely than with the J (vs. 53*c*). Now vs. 52*a* is largely editorial and probably based upon a Markan verse (14:43*b*) previously omitted, while the στρατηγοὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ are mentioned elsewhere (Luke 22:4) in an editorial expansion of Mark. But if these clauses are ascribed to the Markan source, vs. 53*c* is brought into connection with vs. 51; and it becomes apparent that this connection gives it a real significance as the reason given for the acquiescence expressed in vs. 51*a:* "Permit even this; for this is their hour—so it is destined." But this remains hypothetical; and the connection would require either that the explanatory clause (vs. 53*c*) should stand between the two sentences of vs. 51 with a change of the pronoun to the third person (which is indeed just possible), or have had some other indication of a change in the persons addressed. But if the latter be sought we are again thrown back upon vss. 52*a*, 53*ab*.

Verse 47*a* has many agreements with Mark, but differs largely in order of words; and since it is necessary as introducing vss. 47*b*–48, the substance of it, at least, must have stood in J. Verse 54*a* may be drawn from the Markan document, though the true parallel to Mark 14:53*a* is rather in vs. 66*b;* but the clumsy repetition of ἤγαγον, εἰσήγαγον is scarcely to be ascribed to the third evangelist, and J can hardly have wanted some mention of the act of arrest (principle 2). The transposition of the arrest, too (principle 1), from the point where it is noted by Mark may have significance; and the verse may be assumed to represent elements from J. We have then in this section a J account

including substantially vss. 47–49, 51*a*, 53*c*, and probably vss. 50, 51*b*, 54*ab*.

3. *Peter's denials* (Luke 22:54*b*–62).—In this section again there are no materials of Class I; but vss. 55–56, 58–60*a*, 61*a* belong to Class II, and there are many non-Markan details: the two precise statements of the interval (*μετὰ βραχύ, διαστάσης ὡσεὶ ὥρας μιᾶς*), the change in the second and third speakers designated, and the additional detail in vs. 61 that a glance from Jesus recalled Peter's courage. This wealth of additional detail, more precise than is usually to be found in Lukan editorial revision (cf. pp. 62 f.), together with the general remoteness of the agreement (principle 6), and above all the transposition of the entire section (principle 1), indicates that we are here dealing, at least in part, with materials from J. If so, there must be included in these, by reason of the *two* definitions of the intervals, the *three* denials, vss. 56–60*a;* introductory to these vs. 55 (but not 54*b*, which agrees closely with Mark and is unnecessary to the introduction); and as a conclusion at least vs. 61*a* and perhaps even vs. 61*b*—*καὶ ὑπεμνήσθη ὁ Π. τοῦ ῥήματος τοῦ κυρίου*—though vs. 62 will form a sufficient conclusion. Verses 60*b*, 61*c* are not to be ascribed to J, however; for the previous mention of the cock (vs. 34) has been excluded from that source (principle 5), and since they belong to Class III the Markan source is sufficient to account for them.

4. *Jesus in the hands of the police* (Luke 22:63–65).—This section also is transposed with reference to both the Denials of Peter and the Trial of Jesus, and hence (principle 1) it must have stood, in part at least, in J. But it contains no materials closely resembling Mark, and its general agreement is but 18 per cent; so it may be ascribed entire to J.

V. THE TRIAL OF JESUS

As regards the trial of Jesus the account of Luke differs very considerably from that of Mark; for the trial by the Jewish authorities is removed from the night to the morning following, and to the trial by Pilate, of which a much fuller account is given, is added the examination of Jesus by Herod. With the respective historical value of the two versions we are not now concerned; it must only be remarked that these divergences are so great that it is inconceivable that Luke did not have some other authority for the correction of the Markan account, and at nearly every point of the legal process.

1. *Examination of Jesus by the Jewish authorities* (Luke 22:66–71).—This event the third evangelist definitely transfers from the night to

the following morning, and by omission of the verdict (cf. Mark 14:64) reduces it from the dignity of a trial to the level of a mere grand-jury process for preparing the indictment.[1] He omits, further, all reference to the search for testimony and the false evidence offered (Mark 14:55–60). In addition, there is evidence here of conflation; for the bold claim of vs. 69, not the noncommittal and cynical response of vs. 70,[2] is the real occasion for the verdict of vs. 71.

The Class I materials are vss. 67*b*–68; Class II, vs. 70. Further disagreement with Mark appears, however, in the recasting and expansion of the dialogue in a manner unexampled outside of the Passion-narrative, especially in the repetition of the direct interrogation, but also in the transposition of so many details that the nearest Markan parallels run in the order Mark 14:53*b*, 53*a*, 61*b*, (61*a*), 62*b*, 61*b*, 62*a*, 63. It is evident, then, that much of the section must be drawn from J. Verses 69 and 71, however, hang together, as do vss. 67–68 and 70; hence vss. 69, 71 must be regarded as Markan interpolations into the J account. Verse 66*b* is quite secondary, in the indefinite reference to "*their* sanhedrin," and probably Markan; but vs. 66*a* contains a reference, not found in Mark, to the πρεσβυτέριον τοῦ λαοῦ, and may be the wanting introduction to the J account. Further conclusion of the account after vs. 70 is not needed in view of 23:1–2. Vexed at Jesus' noncommittal and defiant attitude, the court adjourns in disgust, resolved to press old charges against him before the governor.

2. *Jesus arraigned before Pilate and Herod* (Luke 23:1–16).—In this section vss. 4–15 relate incidents entirely unknown to Mark, and only vs. 3 shows any appreciable agreement with the Second Gospel, but this is very close. Verses 1–2 are but remotely parallel to Mark (Class II) and, since they would be necessary to any account of the trial (principle 2) and vs. 2 is transposed (principle 1), may be ascribed to J. Verse 3 has 84 per cent of agreement with Mark, and two explanations of it are possible: either the J account here agreed closely with the Markan (which is hardly likely), or Luke chose to substitute this verse for the fuller account which Pilate's reply in vs. 4 seems to indicate as having stood in J. For the rest of the section, while there are in every

[1] Cf. R. W. Husband, *The Prosecution of Jesus*, pp. 183 f., 210 ff.

[2] Verse 70*b* is often interpreted as a "round affirmation" (cf. Bernhard Weiss, *op. cit.*, p. 223; Feine, *Eine vorkanonische Ueberlieferung des Lukas* [1891], p. 68, etc.); but in view of the fact that in point of want of agreement with Mark it is connected with vss. 67–68, it is rather to be interpreted as quite noncommittal, or even (with Plummer, *op. cit.*, p. 519) as interrogative.

verse details paralleled in Mark or in other portions of Luke in different connections, it is inconceivable that the evangelist should suddenly have altered his editorial method (see pp. 15–17) to the extent of building up this account out of such scattered hints; and their very transposition to this point (principle 1), as well as the originality of the narrative into which they are fitted, is sufficient to prove that we are here dealing with a J narrative.

3. *Jesus condemned by the governor* (Luke 23:18–25).—The J account has now left us with the picture of the procurator protesting that Jesus is guiltless; but it passes on to his crucifixion, and must perforce have had some account of how the two statements are reconciled. We may then expect J materials in this section, which, although parallel to Mark in its general outline, agrees with the Second Gospel in only 31 words out of 104, or 30 per cent. The demands of the narrative would indeed be satisfied by vss. 23–24, or even by vs. 23 alone. But vs. 22*cd* contains two clauses (*οὐδὲν αἴτιον εὗρον, παιδεύσας ἀπολύσω*) repeated from earlier J sections (principle 5), and these require (principle 2) that at least a part of the colloquy preceding be ascribed to J; but since the only agreement of the passage with Mark in significant words is in vs. 22*b* (*τί γὰρ κακὸν ἐποίησεν*), it is likely that the whole passage is derived from J, with this single interpolation from Mark.

The references to Barabbas (vss. 18–19, 25*a*) are not, to be sure, at all essential to the narrative, and might easily be supplied from Mark (even the added detail in vs. 19—*γενομένην ἐν τῇ πόλει*—does not pass the limits of editorial inference); but the facts that most of the passage is drawn from J (principle 4), and that here it is the crowds, not the governor, who introduce the bandit's name (principle 1), as well as the extreme want of agreement in language (principle 6) in a detail that could not have stood alone, furnish sufficient ground for ascribing this detail of the narrative also to J.

In vss. 23–25 there is a certain amount of redundancy, and the condemnation of Jesus is three times implied: *κατίσχυον αἱ φωναὶ αὐτῶν*, II. *ἐπέκρινεν γενέσθαι τὸ αἴτημα αὐτῶν, τὸν Ἰησοῦν παρέδωκεν τῷ θελήματι αὐτῶν.* Verse 24, indeed, is sufficient conclusion for the section, and vs. 25 is quite parallel to Mark in thought and in order of expressions, if not in language, and may therefore be Markan. Yet the second of these repetitions adds definiteness to the first statement, and the third is needed to complete the antithesis of vs. 25, while the repetitiousness is no more than is natural to J (principle 5, cf. p. 63). This entire section, therefore, with the exception of one phrase, vs. 22*b*, may be ascribed to J.

VI. JESUS' DEATH AND BURIAL

1. *The route to execution* (Luke 22:26–32).—Luke here omits the Markan account of the mocking of Jesus (Mark 15:16–20), but inserts a further prediction relative to the destruction of Jerusalem (23:27–31) entirely without parallel in Mark (Class I), which, by reason of the reference μὴ κλαίετε ἐπ' ἐμέ, must be fixed in some such setting as this and therefore ascribed (principle 2) to J. Verse 26, however, is a detail not essential to the narrative, and since it is a close parallel to Mark (Class III) there is no reason for supposing it had any other source, while its importance is too slight to suppose that it was transmitted in many of the traditions. Verse 32 is the necessary introduction to vss. 39–43, and a Class II passage, and therefore (principles 1, 2) assignable to J.

2. *The crucifixion* (Luke 23:33–34).—The crucifixion of Jesus must inherently, and that of the malefactors on grounds of narrative continuity, have stood in the J narrative; but it is equally likely that the relation of these events can hardly have been stated so differently from the Markan version as to appear altogether original. Therefore, since vs. 33*a*, although of Class III agreement, shows considerable divergence in the form of the sentence as well as in the omission of the detail of Jesus' refusal of the drugged wine (Mark 15:23), it may be supposed to represent the J version. The transposition of vs. 33*b* (principle 1), as well as its necessary connection with vss. 32 and 39 (principle 2), are sufficient grounds for ascribing it also to J, aside from its want of agreement with Mark. Verse 34*a* is rejected by Westcott and Hort as a "Western interpolation." Verse 34*b* is a secondary detail merely, not liable to frequent transmission, and its appending after the reference to the *malefactors* creates a want of connection which may indicate conflation; it may be accounted Markan, therefore.

3. *Jesus ridiculed on the cross* (Luke 23:35–43).—In this section there are two blocks of Class I materials: an introductory hint (vs. 35*a*), and the incident of the penitent thief (vss. 39–43), a hint of which however, is also given in Mark (15:32*b*). As respects verbal agreement with Mark, vss. 35*b*–37 belong entirely to Class II, and their details are so rearranged that the order of the Markan parallels would stand: Mark 15:31, 32*a*, 36, 32*b*, 30. Further, Luke gives the whole picture more of a historical color, since the crowds are kept away from the cross (a precaution the Romans must always have had to observe in Judea) and only the Jewish authorities and the Roman guard come into contact with Jesus, while the words attributed to each are appropriate to the part. All this hardly passes the limits of editorial treatment

if this were Luke's editorial method; but it is not (cf. pp. 19–20), and therefore the transpositions and the different color of the narrative (principle 1), with the want of agreement, indicate a derivation of the paragraph from J. Moreover (principle 2), the taunts of the priests and the soldiery are the most reasonable occasion of the taunt of the brigand (vs. 39), who must have been in ignorance up to this point of the charges against Jesus. Verse 38 is merely a secondary detail, and since it belongs to Class III is most probably Markan. Its transposition to this, a less suitable position, does not affect the narrative, and may be ascribed to accident—interpolation as an afterthought when the evangelist ran his eye over the Markan document to see if he had missed anything of significance. Possibly it served, in the evangelist's thought, to explain the taunts of the soldiers (vs. 37), though such postponement of details is not usually his custom (see p. 17). This section then is derived from J, with a Markan interpolation in vs. 38.

4. *Circumstances of Jesus' death* (Luke 23:44–49).—In this section there are Class I materials (vss. 46, 48–49*a*) sufficient to fix its incorporation in J; but there are also Class III materials in vss. 44–45, 47, 49*b*. It seems that here the amount of agreement corresponds pretty well with the other indications of source. Verses 46, 48 are peculiar details which must have been drawn from a non-Markan source (principle 2); and the Scripture reminiscence of vs. 49*a* should, with these, also be assigned to J (principle 4), since in his Markan materials Luke nowhere adds editorially any reference to the Old Testament. The secondary details of vss. 44–45, however, would hardly have been widely transmitted in identical language, and the explanation τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλείποντος is in the manner of the evangelist,[1] while even the transposition of vs. 45*b*, which does not affect the course of the narrative, may be editorial; these verses, then, may easily have been derived from Mark, as may vs. 49*b*, which closely resembles Mark, and is, to a certain extent, a doublet of vs. 49*a*. Another secondary detail, vs. 47, although a "close parallel" to Mark, and therefore perhaps derived from that source with editorial revision, is yet quite differently put, and shows the verisimilitude characteristic of vss. 35–37 above (principle 5), while the agreement with Mark is but 44 per cent and consists mainly in unimportant words; it may, therefore, be ascribed with large reservations to J. Then in this section, vss. 46, 47, 48–49*a* are to be ascribed to J, and vss. 44–45, 49*b* are Markan.

[1] It may even be due to the misunderstanding of Jesus' cry in Mark (15:34–35); cf. E. A. Abbott in *Class. Rev.* (December, 1893), p. 443 (quoted in Plummer, *op. cit.*, p. 545); and *From Letter to Spirit* (Diatessarica, Part III), p. 401, § 1060.

5. *The entombment* (Luke 23:50–54).—This section presents a peculiar problem; some description of the burial of Jesus must be supposed to have stood in J; but in the Lukan account the central details of the story are told in language closely resembling that of Mark, although with a few additional details. A sign of conflation, however, is to be found in the *appending* of a statement as to the date, as an afterthought at the close, contrary to Luke's usual habit (see p. 17). This detail is non-Markan in language, and its position suggests that it was added from another source when the Markan account had been concluded. It must, for these several reasons, be concluded that the core of the incident, vss. 52–53*b*, is here Markan. The evangelist's reason for here abandoning the source which has furnished the outline of his narrative for nearly two chapters previous is not clear.

However, Luke can hardly have been following the Markan source when he commenced his account of this incident, else he would, with Mark (15:42), have inserted the indication of the date at the head of his relation, instead of tacking it on at the foot. Hence we may suppose that vss. 50–51*a* were derived from J (principle 6), and that after copying these Luke turned to his Markan source for the designation of Joseph (*ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας*) and followed it through vs. 53*b*, omitting the account of Joseph's visit to Pilate as superfluous, and that then he returned to J for the statement that the tomb was unoccupied (principle 6), and appended a statement of the date at the point where he found it in J (this would explain the transposition, principle 1).

To resume, while certainty of attribution is not possible in this passage, the addition of important details on the one hand, and the close agreements with Mark on the other, suggest that the materials were drawn from two sources: vss. 51*b*–53*b* from the Markan, and vss. 50–51*a*, 53*c*–54 from J.[1]

6. *The ministration of the women* (Luke 23:55—24:1).—These three transitional verses, although disjoined in Mark, are brought into close connection by Luke. Since they present peculiar problems they may be considered in a section apart. It will first be noted that vss. 55–56 belong to Class II in all their parts, while 24:1 is throughout closely parallel to Mark (Class III), both in language (60 per cent of agreement) and in order, and must undoubtedly, therefore, be derived from the Markan source. Verses 55–56, moreover, contain no details

[1] It is, however, possible that vss. 51*a*, 53*c* are bits of fact picked up at random by the evangelist, and vss. 50, 54 are Markan in origin; yet this fails to explain the present location of vs. 54.

not satisfied by Mark, and to this extent the section would appear to have been drawn entire from the Markan source.

There are difficulties, however, with this view. First of these is the transposition of the list of the women to vs. 10 of Luke; for had the evangelist intended to give such a list he could hardly, if following the Markan account, have omitted it, even accidentally, at this point in the introduction of his account (where Mark gives it twice), only to append it later. A second difficulty is the discrepancy regarding the purchase of the spices. Mark implies (16:1) that the purchase was made on Saturday evening; but Luke speaks of the women's preparation on Friday afternoon (vs. 56*a*) and expressly states that on the Sabbath they rested (vs. 56*b*). This discrepancy is slight, however, and may be due simply to editorial carelessness. If the transposition too is due to the derivation of the list of the women from a non-Markan source, as is the case with vs. 54 above, there remains no pressing reason for supposing that the entire section may not have been derived from the Markan source, save only the remarkable omission of the list at the commencement of the account. This is, however, sufficient ground for the supposition that the substance of this section was drawn from J, but that the language of 24:1 has been modified by the influence of the Markan parallel.

7. *The empty tomb* (Luke 24:2–11).—This incident centers rather about the fact of Jesus' burial than about the risen Lord and is connected by the evangelist closely to the preceding sections.

Here there are numerous signs of non-Markan source. First, the agreement with Mark in vss. 2–9 is but 14 words out of 85, or 17 per cent. Secondly, there are many divergences in the account: Luke tells of two angels instead of one, of the women having previously noted the empty tomb, transforms a promise of reunion in Galilee to a promise in Galilee of reunion, and informs us, in express contradiction of Mark, that the women did tell the disciples what they had seen. Thirdly, vss. 9, 10*b* recount how the women told the disciples, and appear to be a doublet of the same detail drawn from two different sources, while the position of vs. 10*a* as a tacked-on appendix seems a further sign of conflation, or at least of the use of a non-Markan source.

It seems, therefore, that vss. 2–9 should be ascribed wholly to J, on the ground of want of agreement with Mark, of discrepancy with the Markan story (principle 1), and because J would naturally have contained some resurrection narrative (principle 2). Their only agreement in language with Mark, the phrase οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε ἀλλὰ ἠγέρθη in vs. 6, is rejected by Westcott and Hort as a "Western non-interpolation."

The list of the women (vs. 10*a*) is parallel (Class III) to Mark; but it differs somewhat in content.[1] Moreover, the transposition of this detail from the more suitable Markan location where Luke must have found it if he derived it from that source is especially difficult (see p. 17). Therefore, after the analogy of similar appendixes (cf. Luke 23:54; also 23:10,32,35), it may be assigned (principle 5) to J. But vs. 10*b* is a doublet of vs. 9 and therefore hardly to be ascribed to the same source; it may well have been drawn from the Markan document.[2] Verse 11 probably belongs with the contiguous (Markan) material (principle 4), but may be editorial (cf. Luke 9:45; 18:34), or even derived from J.

The section, then, is a unit from J (vss. 2–10*a*) with Markan appendix (vss. 10*b*–11). Verse 12 is rejected by Westcott and Hort as a "Western non-interpolation." This J account must have had some introduction, and this lends further probability to the theory that J materials are represented in the transitional paragraph preceding (23:55—24:1).

VII. THE RESURRECTION APPEARANCES

It has already been remarked that in the concluding section of the Passion-narrative, Luke 24:13–53, the parallel portion of Mark is lost; but it is extremely doubtful whether any of these materials were in any case derived from the Markan source; for, first, there are no accounts in which Matthew and Luke agree, and, secondly, the Lucan account deals with appearances of Jesus at Jerusalem, while the Markan seems

[1] The mention of Ἰωάνα might, however, be an early scribal, or even an editorial, addition from Luke 8:3 (cf. the substitution of Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου in the list of the Twelve, 6:16). The Σαλώμη of Mark (16:1), omitted in Mark 15:47 and in Matt. 28:1, may be a similar textual corruption.

[2] The Markan parallel is here lost, except as it may be reproduced, like the preceding Markan section, in Matthew. It seems not improbable that Matt. 28:9–10 were drawn from the lost conclusion, since an injunction from Jesus himself is most appropriate to the picture of timidity with which Mark now closes, and these verses would connect without a break with the last words of Mark. But, with such a reassurance, the incredulity of the women is broken down, and they do at last "run and tell the disciples," whence the statements of Matthew (28:8*b*) and of Luke (vs. 10*b*). As far as we may infer, therefore, from the parallel accounts ,it would appear that the view of Goodspeed (cf. *Am. Jour. Theol.*, IX [1905], 484–90) that the lost conclusion of Mark is most nearly reproduced in the conclusion of the First Gospel (except, of course, vss. 11–15) is more probable than the hypothesis of Rohrbach (*Schluss des Markusevangeliums*), Harnack (*Text. und Unters.*, IX [1893], 2, 32 f.), and others that was of close kin to the resurrection appearance in John, chap. 21, and the Gospel of Peter. If this be the case, we may find in Luke also materials that may have been drawn from the Markan source.

to demand Galilean appearances (Mark 14:28; 16:7; and cf. Matt. 28:16). It remains to inquire what indications of sources are discoverable, and whether reasons can be advanced for assigning these narratives to J. One such is at once apparent: the strong presumption that no Passion-gospel could have omitted some account of the resurrection and the resurrection appearances; yet it might not have included all of this section of the Third Gospel. It appears capable of proof, however, that a number of these narratives must have been derived from some definite source.

1. *The ascension* (Luke 24:50–53).—We may begin with one of the strongest instances and work backward. There is a doublet of this account recorded by the same author in Acts 1:9–14; but the two accounts disagree in several particulars. The scene is slightly different, opposite Bethany in the Gospel (vs. 50), a Sabbath-day's journey out on the Mount of Olives in Acts (vs. 12); in the Gospel Jesus "parts from" his disciples (vs. 51), in the Acts he is borne in a cloud to heaven (vss. 9–10*a*, 11); in the Gospel they frequent the Temple (vs. 53), in the Acts, the upper room (vs. 13). This amount of divergence, which is never quite contradiction, however, is yet sufficient to prove that the evangelist had no stereotyped memoriter version of his own which he simply set down in one or the other instance (else he could hardly have accepted the divergent account), but that, in the one case as in the other, he was depending upon some narrative source. But since this could hardly be oral (principle 6), we can most easily suppose that it was J.

2. *The great commission* (Luke 24:44–49).—Here the case is similar. The account in Acts (1:3–8) is in few respects similar to that of the Gospel; the time is different, in the Gospel (vss. 13, 33, 36) it seems to be upon the day of the resurrection, in the Acts it is forty days later (vs. 3); in the Gospel the "promise of the Father" is given (vs. 49), in the Acts it is to be awaited (vs. 4); in the Gospel Jesus' discourse is concerned with the interpretation of his Passion (vss. 44–46), in the Acts, with the affairs of the Kingdom (vs. 3, cf. vs. 6). Almost the only points of agreement are the promise of spiritual power (Luke 24:49; Acts 1:8*a*) and the commission as "witnesses" (Luke 24:48; Acts 1:8*b*). Therefore, as in the closing section of the Gospel, it appears that these materials may be ascribed (principle 6) to J.

3. *Jesus' appearance to the disciples* (Luke 24:36–43).—The two sections already discussed and ascribed to J require, however, some account of the appearance of Jesus to his disciples as a setting, and this need is met by the present section, which should therefore (principle 2)

be ascribed to the same source. As a further indication that we have to do still with the Passion-source of previous chapters, it should be noted that the connection of these three sections gives us already a "resurrection Gospel" of some eighteen verses, that is, a quite considerable source, which economy of hypothesis would lead us to connect with the J source preceding.

4. *Jesus' appearance to two obscure disciples* (Luke 24:13–35).—It is remarkable that this section, which deals with the appearance of Jesus to two otherwise unknown disciples, should be the longest single narrative in the entire Gospel, while the appearance to Peter is passed over in a single indirect reference (vs. 34); and we are led to inquire if there is here any purpose beyond the evangelist's usual narrative interest. He has once stated (Luke 1:4) his ulterior motive, and here, if ever, is the place for him to reveal his didactic aim[1] and to press home his message regarding Jesus, as near the close of his work as the finality of the Ascension will allow. And this narrative has many of the elements of a general survey of the gospel message: there is first the summary of Jesus' career (vss. 19–20); second, an estimate of the impression he had made (vs. 21); third, a presentation of the evidence for the resurrection (vss. 22–24); fourth, an indication of the proofs of his messiahship (vss. 25–27); fifth, a typification of the communion of his Spirit with the believer, especially in the rite of the Eucharist (vss. 29–30); and finally, in the heart inflamed, a hint of the endowment of the believer with spiritual power (vs. 32). This outline has almost the appearance of an early Christian missionary sermon;[2] and this seems its function here—it is the homiletic restatement of the gospel narrative, just such as we might expect from one who had been an evangelizer and co-worker with Paul.[3]

But is it Pauline, or such a statement as might be expected from one of Paul's missionary staff? It contains, indeed, two elements strongly emphasized by Paul—mystical communion and spiritual endowment—and it closely resembles the address attributed by the same author to Paul in Acts 13:17–41; but certain of the most central of the Pauline doctrines, such as justification through Christ (which is comprehended in the address at Pisidian Antioch), are quite omitted.[4] Harnack,

[1] Cf. Hawkins in *Ox. Stud.*, pp. 90–94.

[2] Cf. Acts 2:22–35; 3:13–15, 18, 21–24; 13:23–41, etc. (But these too are Lukan.)

[3] Cf. Acts 16:13; Col. 4:14; Philem. 24; II Tim. 4:11.

[4] This element does, however, appear later in the same chapter (vs. 47).

however, well points out[1] that the doctrine of the Pauline Epistles can hardly have been comprehended in all its depth by the Pauline churches, or even by all of Paul's co-workers, and that there is just this difference between the theology of the epistles and that of the Third Gospel and Acts. So it would seem that, in this narrative, the evangelist himself is endeavoring, as he has nowhere else in his Gospel, though probably now on the basis of some brief oral tradition, to press home the application of his story, much as the Fourth Evangelist did in a balder and less literary fashion when he wrote, "These are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, and that believing ye may have life in his name."[2]

The conclusion will then here be, that, of the Resurrection narratives, the first, that of the Appearance of Jesus upon the Emmaus Road (Luke 24:13–35), may have been largely expanded by the hand of the evangelist; but that the rest (vss. 36–53) are in the main drawn from some definite source, probably J.

CONCLUSIONS

It has now been discovered that an examination of the Passion-narrative of the Third Gospel in detail confirms the conclusion to which a more general survey in the preceding chapter had already led us, namely, that the great mass of the non-Markan materials of the Passion-narrative of Luke, and indeed almost the whole of his record of the Last Supper, the arrest, trial, execution, and Resurrection appearances of Jesus, is derived from a group of materials independent of Mark and possessed of a definite arrangement. To this source-group have been ascribed some 165½ verses, as follows:[3] Luke 19:*28*, 37–44; 21:12*a*, 13–15, 18–20, 21*b*–22, 23*b*–26*a*, 28, 34–36, *37–38;* 22:*8*, 14–19*a*, 21, *23–24*, 25–32, 35–38, *39*, 40–41, 42*b*–46, *47a*, 47*b*–49, 51*a*, 53*c*, *54a*, 55–60*a*, 61*a*, 62, *63–65*, *66a*, 67–68, 70; 23:1–2 (3), 4–16, 18–21, 22*b*–24, 27–33, 35–37, 39–43, 46, 48–49*a*, 50–51*a* (51*b*–53*b*), 53*c*–54, *55–56;* 24:(1), 2–10*a*, *13–35*, 36–53. In addition to these there are a few other verses which possibly, but not with such certainty, belong also to the same group of materials: Luke 19:*47–48*; 20:*20*, *26*, 34–36; 22:33, 50, 51*b;* 23:25, 47; 24:11, 12. Luke 20:17–18 has been ascribed to a source of a different character.

[1] *Luke the Physician*, pp. 139–43; *Lukas der Arzt*, pp. 99–102.

[2] It must still remain possible, however, that this too was the work of the author of J (although he hardly appears to Pauline in other sections), since the last verses of the section (especially vs. 33) serve as the setting of the succeeding narrative.

[3] In verses designated in italic figures considerable editorial re-working may have taken place as they now stand.

There remains to inquire whether this attribution of the materials will explain the larger facts of the diversities between the Lukan and the Markan Passion-narratives. It is at once apparent that it does account for the additional materials in Luke. That the transpositions and other corrections are also thus accounted for has been pointed out in the particular cases in the foregoing treatment of the several passages. The bearing of this discrimination of the materials upon the striking want of agreement between Luke and Mark has also been pointed out in detail; but its bearing in the large may now be summarized. In the approximately $165\frac{1}{2}$ verses above ascribed to J there are 2,511 words, of which 295, or 11.75 per cent, are common also to Mark; while in the remaining $103\frac{1}{2}$ verses there are 1,597 words, of which 1,027, or 65.61 per cent, are shared with the Second Gospel; of these the greater portion, 1,263 words in 85 verses, occur in the earlier portion (Luke 19:28—22:13) of the Passion-narrative, and these agree with Mark in 828 words (66.7 per cent), while the remaining portion, 334 words, agree in but 201 words, or 61.3 per cent. This agreement with Mark is indeed closer than that found in earlier portions of the Third Gospel, and it may be objected that an undue proportion of the more remotely paralleled materials have been assigned to J. But it must be observed: (1) that in chapter 20 there is a large proportion of discourse materials, in which the agreement is regularly closer than the average (cf. p. 8), and (2) that in the latter portion of the Passion-narrative the groundwork of the narrative is non-Markan and the Markan materials appear in short interpolations, in which the evangelist would be much more likely to copy the language accurately than in the reproduction of longer paragraphs,[1] and that the greater amount of agreement (8 per cent additional) is not more than is consistent with this diversity in the employment of the materials.

It may therefore be concluded that the assignment of a considerable portion of the materials of the Passion-narrative of the Third Gospel, approximately as indicated above, to a non-Markan source does account for the phenomena which have been observed in that narrative. It still remains, however, to inquire whether there are apparent in the style and language, or in the thought of these materials, any particular characteristics which will serve further to differentiate them from the Markan source or from the hand of the evangelist himself, or which will furnish any clue as to the original form and nature of this source. This investigation must be our next task.

[1] See Dr. Sanday's sane description of the physical conditions of the evangelists' literary work in *Ox. Stud.*, pp. 16–19.

CHAPTER IV

THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE J MATERIALS

I. VOCABULARY

The materials now assigned to J contain some 164½ verses out of the 1,149 verses of the whole Gospel, that is, they are just one-seventh as long as the whole Gospel and just one-sixth as long as the Acts (which has 1,000 verses). The total number of words in these sections is about 2,511, and the total vocabulary contains some 601 different words. It is now our task to investigate this vocabulary for evidence bearing on the conclusion we have tentatively reached, that the J materials are drawn from a distinct source. Such evidence may be sought along several lines: either from the proportion of words which appear foreign to the evangelist and are rare in the rest of his work, or from the use in the J materials of words for which the rest of the Gospel seems to prefer a synonym, or from the scarcity of certain expressions which characterize the rest of the evangelist's work.

1. Of the 582 words in the vocabulary of the J materials, there are 214 which are fairly common in the New Testament, and 71 more which are listed by Hawkins[1] as "characteristic of Luke," and there are also 64 words (including 18 of Hawkins' "Lukan characteristics") which are common both in J and in the other non-Markan portions of Luke. Eliminating these 331 words, we have a remainder of 251 words which demand a closer study.

The first conclusion to be drawn from such a study is that the vocabulary of J is more closely related to that of the non-Markan sections of Luke than to that of the sections derived from the Markan source; for, of the 97 words which appear as frequently in J as in the rest of the Gospel, there are 66 which are found only in non-Markan sections and but 31 which appear at all in the Markan materials. Adding to these 66 words the other 64 words which appear only in J and in non-Markan sections, we have a total of 130 words, in J, characteristic of the non-Markan materials, or a little more than one-fifth of the total vocabulary.

A still larger proportion of the words, however, are more or less characteristic of the J materials. Thus there are 97 words which appear

[1] J. C. Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae* (2d ed., 1909), pp. 16–23.

as often in J as in the rest of the Gospel, 114 which, although found elsewhere in the New Testament, do not occur in the Third Gospel outside of the J materials, and 40 which are *hapax legomena*[1] and do not occur elsewhere in the New Testament. This means that a total of 251 words, or 42.7 per cent of the vocabulary, are to a considerable degree characteristic of the J materials.

This figure, however, does not take account of the possible recurrence of some of these words in Acts to such an extent that they must be regarded as belonging rather to the vocabulary of the evangelist than to that of his source. Further sifting is therefore necessary. We may consider, therefore, two classes of words: those peculiarly characteristic of the J materials and those which do not occur elsewhere in the Lukan writings. To the first class will be assigned those words that appear at least twice in the J materials and are not found in either the remainder of Luke or the Acts more frequently than they are used in J. The first characteristic of these words, that they occur at least twice in the J materials, is essential to assure us that the word is truly characteristic and not merely of accidental occurrence; the second, that they appear no oftener in the rest of Luke or in Acts, is sufficient to insure their being peculiarly characteristic of J, since the remainder of the Gospel, and the whole of Acts, is each six times as long as the J materials. Of the words of this class there are 37 (designated with a dagger, †, in the list of Appendix II). Of the words of the second class, those not found in the Lukan writings outside of the J sections, there are 90 (designated in the list of Appendix II with a single asterisk, *), including 40 words not found elsewhere in the New Testament. This gives a total of 127 words which may fairly be called characteristic of the source rather than of the evangelist, or a little more than one-fifth of the whole vocabulary.

In order to estimate more surely the significance of these factors, as well as to furnish a check upon that factor of variety in discourse inherent in the fact that each new subject requires some new words, we may apply a similar investigation to a passage of Markan materials in the immediate context of J. For this purpose examine Luke 20:2–16, 27–33, 37–47. These passages contain 33 verses and 460 words. Their total vocabulary contains 159 words, of which 92 are common in the New Testament. As characteristic of these sections there are 36 words which

[1] *Hapax legomena* might be referred either to the evangelist or to the source; but since the probability of their repetition grows in direct proportion to the length of the document in which they occur, they are more probably to be referred to the source.

appear as frequently here as in the rest of Luke, 11 more not found elsewhere in the Third Gospel, and also 4 *hapax legomena*—a total of 51 words in all, or one-third of the whole vocabulary. The figure for the similar classes of J, however, is 251, or two-fifths of its whole vocabulary. *Thus the J materials contain half again as many non-Lukan words as do the test sections of Markan materials examined above, in proportion to their entire vocabulary.* Even considering the relative frequency of these characteristic words in the sentence or verse (this can be estimated pretty closely, as few of them occur more than once), a similar conclusion is reached: the J sections contain, in the 2,703 words, 251 characteristic words, or about one in every ten-and-one-half; while the test sections have 51 characteristic words in a total of 460, or one in every nine—that is, *the unusual words are about as frequent in the J sections.*

To these facts, however, must be added a further observation: of the 51 unusual words in the test sections, 39 are seen, by comparison with the parallel sections of Mark, to have been derived by the evangelist from his source, and but 12 can be attributed to the evangelist himself. The obvious conclusion from this is that only about 20 per cent of the unusual language, at the most, can be attributed to the editor, and that the rest must be regarded as characteristic of the source materials. If then the J materials contain more words not elsewhere common in the Lukan writings than do the test sections of Markan materials, it is a safe inference that the evangelist, so far from composing freely, is rather following the language of his source more closely than he followed the Markan document.

This inference is again borne out by comparison of the characteristic words of the two groups of material. There are 21 Markan words rare or wanting in the rest of Luke and 3 other words not found elsewhere in Luke or Acts—a total of 24 words, or one-sixth of the whole vocabulary—which may be called characteristic of the test sections; but the J sections contain 127 characteristic words, which form a little more than one-fifth of the total vocabulary. The Lukan language then is again shown to be less prominent in J than in the Markan materials.

In the following tabulation of the foregoing data, the first column of figures presents the actual number of words from the vocabulary of J which fall into the category indicated; the second column, the proportion of the whole which they constitute; the third presents the actual number of words in the test sections which fall into the particular class; the fourth, the number of such words paralleled in Mark; the fifth, the proportion of the figure in the third column to the whole number of

words in the vocabulary of the test sections; and the final column states the proportion of the J percentage to that of the test sections. The categories are fully explained in the foregoing discussion. We may then tabulate the data as shown in Table II.

TABLE II

	J Materials		Test Sections			Proportion
	Words	Percentage	Words	Markan Words	Percentage	
Total number of words	2,703	.....	460	.....	.....	.....
Number of different words	582	100.0	159	.....	100.0	1.00
Common words	214	36.8	92	70	57.8	1.50
Lukan characteristics	71	12.2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Characteristics of non-Markan sections	64	11.0	15	12	9.4	.....
Remainder	251	.....	52	.....	.....	.....
Characteristics of non-Markan sections	64	11.0	15	12	9.4	.....
J characteristics in non-Markan sections	66	11.3	17	15	10.7	.....
J characteristics in Markan sections	31	5.3	19	16	12.0	.....
Total	161	27.6	51	43	32.0	1.16
Words rare in rest of Luke	97	16.6	36	31	22.6	.....
Words not in rest of Luke	114	19.4	11	8	6.9	.....
Words not in rest of New Testament	40	6.7	4	0	2.5	.....
Total	251	42.7	51	39	32.0	0.75
Words most often in present sections	37	6.5	24	21	15.0	.....
Words not in rest of Luke-Acts	50	8.6	4	3	2.5	.....
Words not in rest of New Testament	40	6.7	4	0	2.5	.....
Total characteristics of sections	127	21.8	32	24	20.0	0.91

2. Turning now to the *choice of synonyms*, it will appear shortly that there are a number of cases where the J materials employ one of a pair or a group of synonyms far more frequently, in proportion, than does the rest of the Gospel or the Acts. It is, of course, true, as Ropes has pointed out,[1] that the third evangelist quite frequently introduces a synonym for a word just used, for the sake of variety; but a marked preference of J for one of a set of synonyms, where the rest of the Lukan materials prefer another, would seem to be most easily attributed to the underlying source rather than to an editor, and may therefore be

[1] J. H. Ropes, "An Observation on the Style of St. Luke," in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XII (1901), 299–305.

regarded as additional evidence to confirm our previous conclusions as to the independence of the J materials. Examples of this preference for a different synonym are not wanting.[1]

Verbs.—We may examine first the verbs. Of the verbs of striking, τύπτω is rare in J (1:3:5), though listed by Hawkins as characteristic of Luke, as compared with παίω (1:0:0), πατάσσω (2:0:3), and παιδεύω in the sense of "scourge" (2:0:0). Of verbs of fearing, πτοέομαι is peculiar to J (2:0:0), while φοβέομαι (1:3:5) and ταράσσω (1:1:3) are rare. Of verbs of silence, σιγάω, cited by Hawkins as characteristic of Luke, appears only in Luke 20:26 in an editorial passage doubtfully assigned to J, and is rare (1:3:3) in comparison with σιωπάω (1:1:1). Of verbs of praising, εὐλογέω (5:6:2) is preferred to αἰνέω (1:2:2) or δοξάζω (1:8:5). Of verbs of doing, πράσσω (4:2:13) is proportionately more frequent than ποιέω (5:83:69). Of verbs of going, ἔρχομαι (5:94:55) and its compounds (14:132:130) are proportionately rare, as against πορεύομαι (8:43:39) and συμπορεύομαι (1:2:0). Of verbs of sitting, κάθημαι (4:8:7) is preferred to καθίζω (1:6:9); and of verbs of reclining, ἀνάκειμαι (2:0:0) is preferred to ἀναπίπω (1:3:0) or κατακλίνω (1:5:0). Of verbs of concealing, καλύπτω and περικαλύπτω (1:1:0 and 1:0:0) seem preferred to κρύπτω (1:3:0). Verbs of announcing and preaching are all rare; but εὐαγγελίζομαι (0:10:15) is entirely wanting in J, while ἀπαγγέλλω (1:10:16) and κηρύσσω (1:8:8) both appear. Of verbs to describe the resurrection, ἀνίστημι ἐκ νεκρῶν (2:1:1) is proportionately more frequent than ἐγείρομαι ἐκ νεκρῶν (2:5:8).

Nouns.—Of designations of the inner circle of Jesus' followers, οἱ μαθηταί (2:5:0) is preferred to οἱ δώδεκα (ἕνδεκα) (3:6:3) or οἱ ἀπόστολοι (1:7:plurr.). Of designations of transgressors, κακοῦργος (3:0:0) is preferred to ἁμαρτωλός (1:16:0) or ἄνομος (1:0:1). Of titles of rulers in the ecclesiastical body πρεσβύτερος (0:3:7) is wanting, but οἱ πρῶτοι (1:0:3) and οἱ ἄρχοντες (3:5:10) are used. For reference to a grave,

[1] The basis of comparison here will be the proportion between the number of occurrences of one word and those of its synonyms, comparing this proportion in J with that for the rest of Luke and Acts. Thus, if a word A is used twice as often in the J materials as its synonym B, and occurs only half as often as B in the other Lukan materials, it will be considered the preferred synonym in J, and B will be considered rare in J.

The figures in parentheses following each word denote the number of occurrences of the word in J, in the rest of Luke, and in Acts, respectively. Thus (x, y, z) means that the word is used x times in J, y times in the rest of Luke, and z times in Acts. In weighing these proportions it should be recalled that the remainder of Luke, and the book of Acts, are each six times as long as the J source.

μνῆμα (0:3:2) is wanting, but μνημεῖον (5:2:1) is common. For writing and writings γράμμα (0:2:2) is wanting, but γραφή (3:1:1) and τό γεγραμμένον (4:2:2) are frequent, although the finite perfect γέγραπται is rare (1:10:5). For "deed," ἔργον (1:1:10) seems rare, compared with πράξις (1:0:1), and πράγμα (0:1:1) is wanting. God is referred to as Πατήρ somewhat frequently (3:13:3) as against the more general term Θεός (9:82:173), and Κύριος is rare (1:38:plurr.). The noun ἀρχιερεύς is wanting in the singular (0:3:11), but frequent in the plural (7:5:11).

Adjectives.—For "many," ἱκανός (3:7:18) is decidedly preferred to πολύς (2:42:49). For "all," ὅλος (1:15:20) is rare, and ἅπας (4:7:10) is frequent, relatively to πᾶς (21:133:plurr.). For "other," ἕτερος (4:30:18) is rare compared with ἄλλος (2:7:5) and λοιπός (2:4:6). For the mention of a name, καλούμενος (1:7:9), and especially λεγόμενος (1:0:0), are preferred to the uses of ὄνομα—ὀνόματι (2:5:22) and ᾧ ὄνομα (1:6:1). For "deserving," αἴτιος (3:0:1) is preferred to ἄξιος (2:6:7), τίμιος (0:0:2), or ἔντιμος (0:2:0). Of the two adjectives for "left-hand," J uses ἀρίστερος (1:0:0), while the rest of the New Testament uses εὐώνυμος (0:0:1, etc.). For indefinite article, εἷς (3:14:3) seems to approach τὶς (9:70:118) more closely here than elsewhere.

Adverbs and particles.—As an adverb of asseveration ὄντως (2:0:0) is preferred to ἀμήν (1:5:0) or the phrase ἐπ' ἀληθείας (1:3:2). Among the prepositional adverbs for "before," ἐναντίον (2:1:2) is preferred to ἔμπροσθεν (3:6:2) and ἐνώπιον (3:16:14).

The evidence of these sets of synonyms is not of equal value throughout. In some cases it is quite striking, in others somewhat doubtful; but the total effect of these instances must be to corroborate the impression that there is a distinct diversity of language between the J materials and the rest of the Lukan writings.

3. A third line of evidence is that of words used in the J materials in a different sense from that given them in the rest of Luke and in Acts. As examples may be cited the following words: ἀποβαίνω in the sense to happen, elsewhere to descend; διΐστημι, to depart; ἐκλείπω, to be eclipsed; παιδεύω, to scourge, elsewhere used of education; συλλαμβάνω, to arrest, elsewhere used of the act of conception; φαίνω, to seem, elsewhere meaning to become visible; πνεῦμα, of the spirit of a dead person, but not used of demons; and στόμα of the blade of a weapon.

There is a similar emphasis upon one of several meanings of a word, without the exclusion of the others, in some further cases. For example, σώζω is used of physical preservation from peril most largely in J(3:2:2), and not at all of spiritual salvation, the meaning most common in the

rest of Luke (0:10:11). And προφητής rarely refers, as elsewhere in Luke and Acts, to the prophetic man (1:24:30), but more frequently to the Scriptures (3:3:12).

4. A fourth line of evidence for the independence of the J materials might be adduced from the rarity of certain words frequent in the rest of the Lukan writings. Conspicuous among these is the adjective πολύς, which occurs but twice in the J materials, but is found in the rest of Luke 42 times, and 46 times in Acts. Other similar words are: the impersonal use of ἐγένετο (5:43:–), ὑπάρχω (1:15:25), διέρχομαι (0:10:20), πιστός (0:4:4), πονηρός (0:12:8), ἄγγελος (1:23:21), ἀμαστωλός (1:16:0), ὁ Κύριος, of God (1:38:plurr.) and of Jesus (2:14:plurr.), πόλις (4:42:43), προφητής (4:27:42), χρόνος (1:6:17), ψυχή (1:12:17), ἄχρις (1:3:17), ἐκεῖ (1:15:6), νῦν (3:15:26), and ἕτερος (4:30:18).

It is therefore apparent, from the number of words unusual in other portions of the Lukan writings, from the diversity in the choice of synonyms common to all parts of Luke and Acts, from the use of common words in unusual meanings, and from the rarity of some words common in the rest of the Gospel and Acts, that the J materials use a vocabulary considerably different from that of the evangelist or of his other sources, though approaching more closely to that of the non-Markan sources. This evidence will go far to confirm the conclusion that the third evangelist derived the J materials from an independent source.

II. LITERARY STYLE

Individuality of vocabulary, however, no matter how pronounced, cannot be a final test of diversity of origin; for much of the vocabulary is dependent upon the subject-matter treated, and a considerable degree of variety is to be expected of a writer of the literary skill of the third evangelist. A more subtle test is perhaps to be found in the more general features of the style and in particular turns of expression. We turn, now, to the consideration of some of these.

1. Characteristic of the J materials, as of no other portion of the Gospel, is the presence of *exact details* in fixing the scene of an incident, or in otherwise depicting the scene. In general, Luke is wont to use fewer details in his descriptions than does his Markan source,[1] though he uses to good effect those which he does employ. But in the J materials we come upon a series of definite hints of time and place to which there is no parallel in the earlier portions of the Gospel. Such are: πρὸς τῇ καταβάσει τοῦ ὄρους τῶν ἐλαιῶν (19:37), ὡσεὶ λίθου βολήν (22:41), διαστάσης

[1] Cf. A. Plummer, *St. Luke* (in *International Critical Commentary*), pp. xlvi-xlvii.

ὡσεὶ ὥρας μιᾶς (22:59), μετὰ βραχύ (22:58), ἀπέχουσαν σταδίους ἑξήκοντα (24:13), ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ Ἰερουσαλήμ (24:47). Other phrases which are more common in the synoptic tradition and in other parts of Luke, such as ἔτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος (22:47, 60; 24:36), παραχρῆμα (22:60, a Lukan characteristic), αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ (24:33), serve rather simply to relate the incidents of the narrative, and have not the same degree of objective definiteness.

A similar definiteness appears also in certain *descriptive touches:* θεὶς τὰ γόνατα (22:42), ἀπὸ τῆς λύπης (22:45), καθήμενος πρὸς τὸ φῶς (22:56), ὁ Κύριος ἐνέβλεψεν τῷ Πέτρῳ (22:61), περιβαλὼν ἐσθῆτα λαμπράν (23:11), ἐγένοντο φίλοι (23:12), οὗ οὐκ ἦν οὐδεὶς οὔπω κείμενος (23:53), τὸ μὲν σάββατον ἡσύχασαν (23:56), κλινουσῶν τὰ πρόσωπα (24:5), ἐστάθησαν σκυθρωποί (24:18), κέκλικεν ἤδη ἡ ἡμέρα (24:29), ἰχθύος ὀπτοῦ μέρος (24:42).

Illustrative of the same tendency are the *tacked-on particulars* already referred to in a previous chapter (see pp. 49, 51). It has already been shown (p. 17) that the evangelist constructs his discourse with considerable skill and habitually avoids the loose appending of descriptive details at the close of a paragraph, even when these are found in his Markan source. But in the J materials these tacked-on appendixes, which we cannot ascribe to the evangelist, are not infrequent. The most striking examples are the dating of the entombment of Jesus (23:54) and the list of the women (24:10), but other instances appear: the friction between Pilate and Herod (23:12*b*), the appearance of Jesus' accusers before Herod (23:10), the title on the cross (23:38), the watchers at the crucifixion (23:49), and perhaps the popular interest in Jesus (19:48*b*) and the description of Barabbas (23:19).

A second characteristic tendency of the J materials is in the direction of redundancy. Noteworthy is the *repetition* of similar or nearly similar phrases. In the Last Supper the phrase "I shall not eat (drink) until the Kingdom of God" (22:16, 18) is recorded twice in very similar language, and so also are the warning to pray (22:40, 46), the cross-examination of Jesus (22:67, 70), Pilate's offer to scourge and release Jesus (23:16, 23), the description of Barabbas (23:19, 25), and the argument from prophecy for the death of the Christ (24:26, 46), while Pilate's exoneration of Jesus is thrice recorded (23:4, 14, 22). Simple *redundancy* also appears: the condemnation of Jesus is three times stated in 23:24–25, the disbelief of the disciples (24:11) and Jesus' teaching in the Temple (21:37–38) twice. This, however, may be due to the hand of the evangelist (cf. 5:26; 9:45; 18:34, etc.).

With this tendency to repetition there may be placed also another formal tendency, that to the *grouping of incidents* in triads. This appears to some extent in the other Gospels (as in Peter's three denials), but it is more prominent in the J materials than anywhere else. Thus we find, in addition to Peter's three denials (22:55–60), three warnings to Jerusalem (19:41–44; 21:20–21; 23:27–31), three appeals by Pilate in Jesus' behalf (23:14–16, 20, 22), three mockings of Jesus on the cross (23:35, 36, 39), three classes impressed by his death (23:47, 48, 49), three resurrection-narratives (24:1–10, 13–35, 36–49), and three appearances of the risen Jesus (24:15, 34, 36). But that these triads are not due to the evangelist's design seems demonstrated by the fact that but a single visit to the disciples in Gethsemane is recorded by him, where Mark has a triple visit (Luke 22:39–46; cf. Mark 14:32–42).

A third characteristic of the J materials lies in the ability with which they preserve the individuality of persons introduced as actors and the *dramatic verisimilitude* of the words put into their mouths. This is most striking in the estimates of Jesus attributed to one or another of the characters. Compare, for example, the conventionally Christian cast of the remark attributed to the centurion by Mark (Mark 15:39) with the moderation, really suitable for a pagan, of the Lukan version (23:47), although the evangelist adds one of his own favorite phrases, not at all suitable to the Roman, ἐδόξαζεν τὸν Θεόν. Again, as Jesus is hanging on the cross, the rulers and even the Jewish bandit or zealot address him in irony with the Jewish title of "the Christ, the elect of God" (23:35, 39), but the Roman soldiery use the political term "king of the Jews" (23:37). The charges preferred against Jesus are likewise Jewish in the Sanhedrin (22:66, 70), but political before Pilate (23:2, 5). This dramatic quality comes out tragically at the close of Jesus' Farewell Discourse (22:38), where the disciples again fail to understand his meaning,[1] and produce their two swords. And it appears, too, in the closing chapter of the Gospel, where the two disciples present a purely Jewish conception of the Messiah as their estimate of the significance of Jesus (24:19, 21).

2. In the matter of syntax and rhetoric, also, some diversities between the usage of J and that of the rest of the Third Gospel may be noted. While the perfect tenses are rather less frequent, both in the finite forms (6:40:–)[2] and in the participle (8:62:–), the pluperfect is much more

[1] Luke, however, often thus represents them (cf. 9:45; 18:34).

[2] As above, the first figure of the proportion gives the number of occurrences in J, the second the number in the rest of Luke, and the third the number in Acts.

frequent (3:1:–). A similar reduction of the use of the perfect appears in the case of the periphrastic form of the verb, the participle with forms of *εἶναι*: this periphrasis is slightly more frequent in J than in the rest of the Lukan writings (13:45:40) proportionately, but the use of the perfect participle in periphrastic construction is proportionately rare (4:18:19), and here only is it extended to the use of the aorist participle (Luke 23:19).[1] The optative mood is comparatively rare (1:12:–). The verb *γίνομαι*, while common in J (29:101:–), is rare in the impersonal use of *ἐγένετο* (5:41:–), though fairly common in chapter 24, constituting there four of the nine occurrences of the word. The infinitive of purpose is rare (6:53:–).

The use of the dative of agent of pronouns with passive verbs is somewhat frequent, proportionately (2:2:4, in Luke 23:15; 24:35; 10:17, 20; Acts 5:9; 13:42; 23:21; 27:25), unless the datives be so construed with the passive of *ὁράω* in the meaning "to appear" (cf. Luke 1:11; Acts 1:3; 2:3; 7:26, 30, 35; 9:17; 26:16 *bis*) and in the phrase *τοῦτο ὑμῖν γνωστὸν ἔστω* (Acts 2:14; 4:10; 13:38; 28:28). The Hebraic use of a cognate noun of the similar stem or similar meaning, to emphasize the idea of the verb (e.g., *ἐπιθυμία ἐπεθύμησα*, *φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ἔκραξεν*), seems to be slightly more common in J (4:8:–; cf. 19:37; 22:15; 23:23, 46; 1:42; 2:8, 9; 4:34; 7:29; 8:28; 11:46; 17:16). Also, expressions for "past," "present," and "future" (*τὰ γενόμενα*, *τὰ μέλλοντα*, *τὸ ἐσόμενον*, *τὰ συμβεβηκότα*, etc.) are especially common in J (6:6:5; cf. Luke 21:36; 22:49; 23:47, 48; 24:14, 18; 2:15; 8:34, 35, 56; 9:7; 13:9; Acts 3:10; 4:21; 5:7: 12:9; 13:12).

Noteworthy is an extended use of the article in a number of relations. The genitive *τοῦ* with the infinitive is slightly more common (7:19:24; cf. Moulton and Geden, *Concordance*, pp. 670–80), and particularly with the infinitive of purpose (4:7:–), although without the article the infinitive of purpose is very rare (2:46:–). Similarly, the article used to introduce a clause is found chiefly in the J sections, with an indirect question (3:4:–; cf. Luke 19:48; 22:23, 24; 1:62; 9:46; 22:1, 4), or even with a direct quotation (Luke 22:37 only). It is similarly employed with an adverbial phrase—*τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν*—once in J (Luke 19:47) and once in an earlier passage of Luke (11:3).

In the uses of prepositions the following may be noted: *ἀπό* with the genitive of cause is proportionately common (3:9:–; in Luke 21:26; 22:45; 24:41; 6:18; 7:35; 8:29, 43; 9:22; 12:4; 17:25; 18:3; 19:3). *διά* with the genitive is rare (2:12:54; in J only in

[1] Cf. W. H. Simcox, *Language of the New Testament*, pp. 131–34.

Luke 22:22; 24:53). The partitive use of ἐκ is common (4 times, in Luke 22:23, 50; 24:13, 22), although rare in the rest of Luke except in the Great Interpolation (12 times in P, 3 in the remainder of Luke). The use of ἐπί with the dative is rare (3:30:25). πρός with the dative is used by Luke only in J (Luke 19:37). For the notion of agency, ἀπό is to some extent replaced by ὑπό; in the rest of Luke the former quite largely predominates (ἀπό 39 times, ὑπό 21 times), but in J their occurrences are the same in number (ἀπό in Luke 21:26; 22:45; 24:41; ὑπό in Luke 21:20, 24; 23:8), but both expressions are comparatively rare (6:60:–). The use of ἕως with a phrase already introduced by a preposition is peculiar to J (Luke 24:50), and its use with a clause is shared by J (in Luke 22:16, 18; 24:49) with the Great Interpolation only (6 occurrences in P). The particle εἰ used to introduce a wish is more frequent in the J materials (2:1:0; in Luke 19:42; 22:42; 12:49), and as an interrogative particle it is comparatively more frequent than outside of J (3:2:6; in Luke 22:49, 67; 23:37; 6:9; 13:23; Acts 1:6; 4:19; 7:1; 19:2; 21:37; 22:25).

These diversities of rhetorical usage between J and the hand of the evangelist himself and his sources are not all of them of large significance taken singly, but their collective import is considerable, and they serve to bear out the former conclusion as to the independence of the J materials.

3. Thus the data of style and language have so far tended to confirm the hypothesis that the J materials of the Third Gospel were derived from a non-Markan source. Stanton, however, on the basis of an examination of the frequency of "Lukan characteristics" in Markan passages,[1] concludes that four sections of our J materials—Luke 19:41–44; 23:5–12, 14–15; 23:39–43; and chapter 24—are from the pen of the evangelist composing freely, perhaps on the basis of oral tradition, but not drawn from any documentary source. But these sections, if compared together, do not make an altogether unified impression, as they should do if all were the product of the same hand. In the Lament of Jesus over Jerusalem, for instance, and the narrative of his appearance to Cleopas and his companion, the Semitic coloring of the style is strong (see p. 68); but in the dialogue with the penitent thief it is almost entirely lacking. And further study of the data presented by Stanton himself leads to the impression that the proofs offered are too subjective and fail to substantiate the conclusions. Thus, while Stanton repudiates, and rightly repudiates, any mere numerical enumeration of the occurrences of a selected list of "Lukan characteristics," there is yet a certain

[1] V. H. Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, II, 276–322.

degree of weight to be given to the numerical argument. And this weight by no means falls exclusively upon the side of the Lukan composition of the sections above named.

The facts are as follows: In the six Markan sections (Luke 4:31–44; 5:12–16, 17–26; 8:22–25, 26–39, 40–56), containing 63 verses in all, Stanton notes 107 Lukan characteristics, an average of 1.70 per verse. In some of these sections the average is far higher: 10 characteristics for the 5 verses of Luke 5:12–16, or 2 per verse; and 13 for the 4 verses of Luke 8:22–25, or 3.25 per verse. But of the four sections above which he denominates Lukan, the 4 verses of 19:41–44 contain but 5 Lukan characteristics, an average of 1.25 per verse; and chapter 24, exclusive of the Emmaus narrative, contains 29 verses and but 25 characteristics, or 0.86 per verse. The remaining section of the chapter contains in 23 verses 42 Lukan characteristics, or 1.83 per verse, a figure only slightly above the average. The two remaining sections contain a larger proportion of Lukan characteristics (2 per verse in the trial before Herod, and 2.2 per verse in the dialogue with the penitent thief), but even so, these figures are not remarkably above the average, nor as large as in at least one of the Markan sections examined.[1]

Certainly then Stanton's conclusions must await confirmation from other evidence, and cannot be made to offset the evidence which has been adduced in our previous investigation pointing to the use of a documentary source. Even were the proportion of Lukan characteristics far more significant, there would yet remain two possibilities aside from the use of the oral tradition, either the employment of an Aramaic document which the evangelist was himself translating, or the use of a document whose style more nearly resembled the evangelist's own. It is therefore evident that the proportion or the predominance of Lukan characteristics can have, as evidence, but corroborative value.

4. Beside the problem of the editorial coloring of the narrative there must be placed also the question of the Semitic tone of the language. On this point, Torrey[2] has shown that the Greek of the Third Gospel is not by any means the spoken vernacular of the first century, but bears all the marks of being a pure translation-idiom, the product of an attempt to carry over into an alien tongue the genius and idiom of a Semitic speech, whether Aramaic or Hebrew. In addition he has

[1] Moreover, at least two other sections of J—Luke 23:44–49; 23:50–54—have a proportion of two characteristics to each verse of J materials.

[2] C. C. Torrey, "The Translations Made from the Original Aramaic Gospels," in *Studies in the History of Religions, Presented to C. H. Toy*, pp. 270–317.

demonstrated of the first two chapters, by their preponderance of Semitic idiom, together with their large proportion of "Lukan characteristics," that they must have been translated from a Hebrew source by the third evangelist; and for the rest of the Gospel he seeks to prove a similar process. We must therefore inquire what is the extent and the significance of the Semitic idiom in the materials of the Third Gospel now under discussion.

As the basis of this examination we cannot do better than to make use of the list of "Aramaisms" set forth by Wellhausen,[1] checking up the frequency of their occurrence in the J materials and comparing it with that in materials clearly derived from Mark, and that in the infancy narratives, equally clearly derived from a Semitic original. Such an investigation reveals two things: first, that the Semitic coloring of the J materials is strongest in the discourse sections, ranging from $2\frac{1}{7}$ occurrences per verse in the Farewell Discourse, and $2\frac{1}{4}$ in the Apocalyptic Discourse, to $2\frac{2}{3}$ per verse in the brief discourse sections Luke 19:41–44 and Luke 23:27–31; and second, that in the remainder of the J materials it is seldom much stronger than in contiguous sections of Markan materials. Exceptions to this latter statement are the sections Luke 22:39–53 (the agony, and the arrest of Jesus) and 24:13–35 (the Emmaus appearance), where the verses assigned to J contain respectively $2\frac{1}{6}$ and $2\frac{2}{5}$ Semitisms per verse. The remaining materials of J, however, contain, in 99 verses, 153 Aramaisms, or 1.55 per verse. This figure is very close to that for the Markan materials of chapter 20, where there are 61 Aramaisms in 42 verses, or 1.45 per verse; but it is considerably less than the proportion for the infancy narratives, which is 2.52 per verse. However, since the materials of Luke 20 are largely discourse, it may be inferred that the J materials are rather more strongly Semitic in tone than are the Markan materials of corresponding character. In the editorial sections, however, the proportion of Aramaisms is very small, only 0.90 per verse. Table III gives the figures derived from the foregoing data.

The significance of this Semitic coloring it is difficult to estimate truly. On the one hand, the third evangelist presents himself, in the preface to his Gospel and in the latter portion of the Acts, as one who can write fluent and idiomatic Greek. So too in the introductory and concluding verses of the successive sections of the Passion-narrative (Luke 19:47–48; 20:1, 9, 19–20, 26–27, 39–40, 45; 21:1, 5, 37–38; 22:1–7, 14, 23, 39, 54, 66; 23:1, 24–25), where, it may be supposed, the editorial

[1] J. Wellhausen, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, pp. 15–25.

hand is most likely to appear, the proportion of Semitisms is low, but 30 in 31 verses, or nearly 1 per verse. This suggests that the evangelist can hardly be responsible for the Semitic coloring of the language; but Plummer has pointed out[1] that in some similar sections in the Markan materials of Luke the Lukan version has a more strongly Semitic tone than the corresponding Markan language. This is due, however, to the recurrence of one or two lections (*ἐγένετο, καὶ ἰδού, αὐτός* in the nominative) which the evangelist has carried over from other sources or from his Greek Bible and has made his own; in general we cannot

TABLE III

	Number of Verses	Number of Aramaisms	Proportion per Verse
Editorial sections of Passion-narrative	21	19	0.90
Infancy narratives	128	323	2.52
Markan narratives (in Luke 20)	42	61	1.45
Discourses 19:41–44; 23:27–31	9	24	2.66
Apocalyptic Discourse (J verses)	17	38	2.23
Farewell Discourse	13	28	2.15
Emmaus narrative	23	55	2.39
The agony and arrest narrative	9.5	21	2.21
Remainder of J materials	99	153	1.55

attribute more than a minimum of Semitisms to the third evangelist or to the vernacular Greek, which was his native tongue. If this be true, the fact that the J materials appear to have a stronger Semitic coloring than the Markan, although not so strong as that of the infancy narratives, would suggest that here the third evangelist is employing materials which originated in a Semitic milieu, but very likely lay before him in a Greek translation.

5. In conclusion we must place a definite estimate upon the data presented in the preceding pages. As a first consideration it must be remarked that considerations of style are too varied, as a general rule, to be reduced to system and brought into evidence to prove literary unity or composition. So Bacon argues, in a critique of Torrey's investigations into the sources of Acts,[2] that the editorial methods of the ancient writer were such that it is impossible to argue from homogeneity of style to homogeneity of source. This contention has much of truth; but it does not, and cannot, carry with it the converse proposition that a

[1] A. Plummer, *St. Luke*, pp. xlix–l.

[2] B. W. Bacon, "More Philological Criticism of Acts," *American Journal of Theology*, XXII (1918), 17.

marked diversity of style, especially if it lie deeper than the language of the redactor, does not furnish evidence at least corroborative of the theory of diversity of source. True it is also, as Ropes has pointed out (*loc. cit.*), that, with true literary instinct, the third evangelist has frequently introduced considerable variety of expression into his sources; but when such variety is found to coincide largely with other indications of diversity of source, it must be attributed rather to this latter factor than to the hand of the editor.

Therefore, since there appears evidence of peculiarities of vocabulary, of individualities of style, of stronger Aramaic coloring, to support our previous hypothesis of the independence of the J materials, and since the proportion of Lukan characteristics is not significantly greater than in other passages where the evangelist was quite certainly following a source, it may safely be asserted that the evidence of the literary form of the J materials also favors our previous deduction that they are derived from a distinct non-Markan source.

III. THOUGHT AND VIEWPOINT

In general the J materials accord well with the viewpoint and theology of the Synoptic Gospels as a whole; but in details there are enough slight variations from the thought of the rest of the Lukan writings to be significant, and a brief study of the whole thought of the J materials may not be amiss.

1. *World-view.*—In general the J materials share the dualistic world-view of the rest of the synoptic literature; but this theoretical dualism is largely offset by a practical common-sense view of worldly events that approximates monism. God is not prominent in the materials. He is looked upon as the source of blessings and so is thanked (19:37; 23:47; 24:53), and in particular is regarded as the ultimate source of the messianic deliverance of Israel (22:70; 23:35), and he is also regarded as righteous and as judge of the righteousness of men (23:40; 24:19). Angels are represented as messengers of Christ to men (24:23; cf. 24:4), and, in a passage not certainly belonging to J (20:36), as enjoying bliss in heaven.

The world is under the dominion of the powers of evil, more or less fully (22:53), but Satan, the tempter and persecutor of the righteous (22:31), is subject to God's behest as in the early chapters of Job. There is no mention of demons as active in the world.

God's power in the world has been manifest through Jesus in miracles (23:8; 22:51); but the Holy Spirit is not named, and the only possible

reference to it is vague (24:49) and depends upon other portions of the Third Gospel for its interpretation.

2. *Christology.*—In accord with the practical world-view of the materials, the emphasis, in describing the person of Jesus, is placed upon his humanity. This is the assumption involved in all the details of the story of his arrest, torture, and death, and more explicitly stated in his appearance in the form of the Servant (22:27, 37), in the defeat of his desire to eat the Passover (22:15), and in the omission of his agonized expectation of arrest related by the other synoptists (cf. 22:39). The title Son of Man is rare (21:36; 22:48; 24:7). Of Jesus' divine origin there is little reflection; he occasionally refers to God in the words "my Father" (22:29; 23:46; 24:49), but he refuses to claim a peculiar divine sonship (22:70, a verse which the evangelist does convert into a claim by the sentence which follows, see p. 45). His divine destiny is hardly more in view; he suffers to attain "glory" (24:26, probably a reference to his appointment as apocalyptic Messiah) and to obtain the power of forgiving sins (24:47), and he will be the Judge and King in the new age (21:36; 22:29).

Of divine function upon earth there are the slightest traces: upon the cross he proleptically assumes the function of judgment (23:43), and previously he appears as a mediator of divine gifts to men (22:29). The mission of Jesus is represented chiefly as one of teaching and of announcing the Kingdom (19:47; 21:37; 23:5; 24:19); it is this that lies behind the taunt of his tormentors, "Prophesy!" (22:64) and it is the failure to act upon his warning and thus escape the dominion of Satan that calls forth his prophecies of disaster to Jerusalem, who "knew not the time of her visitation" (19:42–44) and could reject his appeal "in the green wood" (23:31). These two latter passages incline toward a mission of saving men from the power of Satan, such as Mark expressed in his picture of Jesus as a miracle-worker; but there is little further emphasis upon this side, save in the address to the penitent thief (23:43).

Jesus' function is principally regarded as being that of a future Messiah, who is to come apocalyptically from heaven to establish the Kingdom. The presentation of this view is one of the main interests of the J source. It is set forth explicitly in the resurrection-narratives (24:25–27, 44–46), and implied in the promise of thrones to the Twelve (22:30) and of a place at the court of the Son of Man (21:36). It seems implied, also, in the idea of his exaltation to heaven (23:42–43; 24:26), which would be a necessary step in raising a human being to such an office. It is involved, again, in a decided polemic against the

idea of a national Messiah as a warring hero, which is definitely rejected (24:21); the messianic function, with a revolutionary interpretation, is attributed to him by his enemies; but it is shown by the testimony of Roman procurator and centurion, of Jewish prince and bandit, to be foolish and mistaken (22:66; 23:2, 4, 5, 14, 22, 35, 37, 39). One passage only swerves from this viewpoint, that of the acclamation of Jesus as Son of David and his acceptance of the title (19:37–40); but this is probably a historical account which the author has adopted simply to prove his more general point that Jesus is the Messiah, without thought of the type of messianic function it suggests, and its significance must be taken proleptically (cf. 24:26, 44, 46); for the establishment of the Kingdom is still future (22:29; 23:42–43). The Pauline title ὁ Κύριος, not infrequently employed by Luke also, is rare in the J materials (22:61; 24:34), and only in verses quite possibly editorial in their present form.

The death and resurrection of Jesus are the central interest and *raison d'être* of the J source; but the significance attached to his death is not large. It is represented as necessary, according to prophecy (22:37; 24:7, 26–27, 32, 46), apparently as a step in the installation of Jesus as the apocalyptic Messiah (which recalls the Pauline expression of Phil. 2:9); but the only hint of the Atonement is the phrase "remission of sins in his name" (24:47). The conception of the resurrection-body of Jesus is strongly literalistic; its physical objectivity is strongly insisted upon, by the story of the empty tomb (24:3, 23, 24), by the explicit assertion that he was not a ghost (24:39, 42), by the proof that he could eat food (24:41–43), and by the use of various purely physical descriptions of his activities (24:15–16, 30, 52). At the same time this body would seem to have been of a rarified substance; for he could vanish or appear at will (24:31, 34–36) and could be in two widely separated places at just about the same time (24:31, 34). The tradition of the resurrection on the third day is followed in the main (24:7, 21, 46), but there are indications also of the notion of an immediate, if not a spiritual, resurrection (23:43; 24:26).

3. *Eschatology.*—The eschatology of the J sections is restrained and mild. There is, of course, the hope of the Kingdom; but there is little reflection of a final world-conflict between God and Satan; rather is Satan working in restive submission to the rule of God already (22:31). The establishment of the Kingdom is sometimes represented as imminent; it is to come with the arrest of Jesus before his next meal (22:18), or at the latest before the next Passover (22:16; cf. 23:42–43), and the trials of its citizens are practically at an end (22:29). Of disasters pos-

terior to the time of Jesus there are also indications, however: the persecution of the early church is predicted in no uncertain terms (21:12–19; 22:36); but their survival unharmed is also indicated (21:18–19; 22:38), and apparently their deliverance is thought of as supernatural (21:28). More interesting to the author is the idea of the punishment of Judaism by the fall of its capital (19:41–44; 21:20–24; 23:28–31, 48), which plays an especially prominent part. The part to be played by Jesus in the future age is vague; he is to be the ruler of the new Kingdom (19:38; 21:36; 22:29–30; 23:42–43), but his part in its establishment is not described. The polemic against a national revolutionary idea of the Messiah involves a corresponding rejection of the purely material idea of the new Kingdom.

4. *Salvation.*—The word χάρις does not appear in the J sections; its place in the Pauline theology is here partly taken, however, by the concept of salvation by the power of Jesus or of his name (24:47), which is prefigured in Jesus' prayer for Peter (22:32) and pardon of the thief (23:43). Salvation from physical ills is included in the same exercise of power (21:15, 28). The Pauline words πίστις and πιστεύω are almost equally rare and are not used in a clearly ethical sense, though such might be read into them in the case of Peter (22:32) and of the disciples after the crucifixion (24:25). Faith, in the sense of a personal dependence upon Jesus, may also be exemplified in the penitent thief (23:42). In 24:47 the necessity of repentance is implied. There is no mention of any sacramental means of salvation.

The ethical side of salvation receives more emphasis. There is frequent warning against temptation (21:34; 22:31, 40, 46), approval of prayer, by admonition and by the example of Jesus (21:36; 22:32, 40, 41, 46), and a like approval of praise (19:37–40; 24:53). Love, in its practical expression, is enjoined (22:25–27). But of the "asceticism" of Luke the only echoes are the depiction of the heavenly state as without marriage (20:35) and the warning against debauchery (21:34).

In the discussion of marriage in the new age it is hinted that the future state of men will be divinity, since they by resurrection come to share the incorruptible essence of God (20:36), but this passage is not certainly a part of the J materials.

5. *Society.*—The relation of Christianity to Judaism is represented as close and the standpoint is even particularistic. The gentile kings are mentioned as horrible examples (22:25–26), and the only citizens of the Kingdom thought of are the twelve tribes of Israel (22:30). The Law and the Temple are approved: the Law is observed by the women

(22:56), and Jesus is quoted as desiring to keep the Passover (22:15), while the Temple is the scene of his activities and of his disciples' (19:47; 21:37; 24:53). The Jewish people are regarded in a friendly light as favorable to Jesus (19:37, 48; 21:38; 23:27, 35, 48; 24:18; cf. 20:19; 22:6), and there is a notion that his ministry among them in Jerusalem continued for some little time (19:47, τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν; 21:37, τὰς ἡμέρας; 22:39, κατὰ τὸ ἔθος; 22:53, καθ' ἡμέραν; but this idea is carried over into the editorial sections, 20:1; 22:1, 2, 7). The Jewish rulers, however, are regarded as enemies and represented as hostile to Jesus (19:47; 23:2, 5, 10, 13, 25, 35; 24:20).[1] These are always the "high priests," and the earlier antagonists, the Pharisees, appear only at the triumphal entry (19:39). Of the "universalism" of Luke there is little—the command to preach to all nations (24:47, but perhaps editorial) and the admission of the outcast thief to the Kingdom (23:43).

The disciples are presented, as by the rest of the Third Gospel, in a favorable light. Their enthusiastic outburst is defended (19:39–40) and they are promised a position at the court of the Son of Man (21:36). There is a considerable interest in the larger body of disciples (19:37–40; 24:10, 33); but the Twelve are exalted. Their actual prominence is recognized in the warning not to abuse their position (22:26), and they are promised a position of high authority (22:28–30). Peter receives especial authority as the foundation of the church (22:32) and the first to see the risen Lord (24:34), and the interest in him appears elsewhere in especial connections of him with Jesus' career (22:8, 55–62). The Lukan "desire to spare the disciples" appears in the excuse made for their failure to watch (22:45).

6. *Divergences from the viewpoint of Luke.*—In the foregoing viewpoint a few divergences from the thought general in the Third Gospel may be noticed. Chief of these are the eschatology and the Lukan universalism. In the case of the latter, the evangelist's broad interest, which includes the Gentiles, gives way to Jewish particularism; Jews and Jews only, save for the figure of Pilate, are concerned in the narrative, and the only members of the Kingdom mentioned are the Twelve Tribes. At the very conclusion of the Gospel, it is true, the commission to preach to all nations is given; but this, the only point at which the final narratives parallel the other synoptics, is just the point which the evangelist must have added from his general knowledge of the Christian movement

[1] This notion, however, appears in the editorial sections of Luke's Passion-narrative (20:1, 19, 20, 26; 22:2, 5, 52, 66) and in the Markan version as well. It cannot, therefore, be supposed peculiar to J.

if it did not stand in his source, and the omission of the similar phrase in the Apocalyptic Discourse (cf. Mark 13:10; Matt. 24:14) is significant. We may therefore conclude that, as against the Hellenistic universalism of the evangelist, the source was particularistic.

The eschatological interest of the J materials is rather in the afflictions of the disciples and in the destruction of Jerusalem than in the final world-calamity, of which it gives but the merest implications. The rest of the Third Gospel, however, contains no such specific descriptions of the fall of Jerusalem (cf. 13:34–35), and its eschatological interest is in the coming of the apocalyptic Messiah (17:22–37; 12:41–46; 21:27; 22:69) and of the final catastrophe (12:54–56; 21:29–32, etc).

Other lesser diversities also appear, of greater or less significance. One of these is the very minor attention paid to Satan and to demons and spirits, which figure quite largely in other portions of the Gospel. In the Christology the Lukan title ὁ Κύριος and the representation of Jesus as a wonder-worker are reduced to a place of minor significance. Against the Lukan representation of the resurrection as occurring on the "third day" (9:22; 18:33),[1] there is also the idea that Jesus passed immediately into glory (23:43; 24:26), and that his next meal should be in the Kingdom (22:16, 18), which may be the original notion of the J source. Again, there is practically no reflection of the "asceticism" or "Ebionism" of Luke, and small reference to "grace" or to "faith." "Temptation," however, is somewhat prominent, as in the Galilean document (4:1–13; 6:47–49; 7:23; cf. 8:13), and the J materials share with G the exaltation of Peter also (22:31–32; 5:1–11).

Thus, while the viewpoint is in general the same as that of the rest of the Gospel, there are some features of the thought of the J material, as of its language and style, which show its independence of the mind of the evangelist, even while he has impressed himself upon it to some extent. These facts are sufficient to confirm entirely our earlier conclusion that the J materials constituted an independent source, which the third evangelist wove into his narrative of the close of Jesus' career.

IV. THE NARRATIVES OF LUKE 19:1–27

A word must be added regarding the first part of the nineteenth chapter, of which it at first seemed that we must take account in our description of J. These two sections have already been set aside from

[1] This representation appears also in the J narratives (24:7, 21, 46); but at least one of these verses (24:21) is so awkwardly introduced as to appear an interpolation, and a second (24:46) occurs in an important summary of the mission of the early disciples and might well be editorial, therefore.

J (see p. 33) on the ground of their thought, the idea of repentance in the former and the parabolic form of teaching in the latter being more closely akin to the Perean source than to J. A few points of style and language may be noted which serve to confirm this impression: ἁμαρτωλός (19:7) is frequent in P (6 times) and found but once in J; διαγογγύζειν (19:7) occurs elsewhere in Luke only in P (15:2); δοῦλος (vss. 13, 15, 17, 22) is frequent in P (14 times) but rare in other parts of Luke (5 times, and 3 times in Acts); τὸ ἀπόλωλος (vs. 10) is found only in P (4 times); ἐπανέρχομαι (vs. 15) occurs only in 10:35; ἐλάχιστος (vs. 17) in 12:26 and 16:10; θερίζω (vss. 21, 22) in 12:24; πολίτης (19:14) in 15:15 and once in Acts; πρεσβεία (vs. 14) in 14:32; τὰ ὑπάρχοντα in the sense "property" (vs. 8) occurs 6 times in P, once in G, and once in Acts; ὑποδέχομαι (vs. 6) once in P and once in Acts; and φωνέω in the sense of "summon" (vs. 15) twice in P and 3 times in Acts. The phrase υἱὸς (or θυγατήρ) Ἀβραάμ (vs. 9) is also characteristic of P (13:16; cf. 16:22–24).

This evidence seems sufficient to establish the fact that the relationships of Luke 19:1–27 are rather with the Perean than with the Jerusalem source.

CHAPTER V

THE LITERARY CHARACTERISTICS OF THE JERUSALEM SOURCE

I. UNITY

The demonstration of the literary unity of any writing against all possible criticisms and objections is, in general, a difficult, if not an impossible, task; for few are the works that possess either a mathematical interior interdependence or a superficial stamp of homogeneity. In most works it is possible to distinguish different subjects and to demonstrate that with diversity of subject there goes also a diversity of treatment, for literature is a living thing and can hardly be reduced to rote. A mechanical demonstration of literary unity, therefore, must nearly always fail, and to establish the unity of a document it must be sufficient to show that there are few valid arguments *against* that unity.

We may discuss two problems as regards the unity of J: first, whether the materials separate themselves into a number of disparate blocks; and, second, whether any of the details which have been ascribed to the J source are not, in fact, a part of it.

1. It is first necessary to inquire whether the material falls, by subject-matter, or from other indications, into blocks, and if so, what significance is to be attached to these. Upon examination we find the following distinct groupings of material: an Apocalyptic Discourse, a narrative of Jesus' entry into the city with attached sayings, a narrative of the Last Supper, a Farewell Discourse, a narrative of Jesus' arrest, trial, and death, a narrative of the burial of Jesus (strangely fragmentary in our remaining J materials), to which may be coupled the narrative of the empty tomb, and narratives of the appearance of the risen Jesus. Does this grouping imply a diversity of sources?

It must first be observed that the groups mentioned are not more distinct than the changes of subject require: there are no marked breaks (though the Apocalyptic Discourse and the resurrection appearances are not closely connected with the rest), nor are there disagreements between the groups nor overlapping nor duplication in the narratives. The few disagreements observed in the preceding chapter (pp. 72 f., 74) are not radical, and seem to bear equally against the interior unity of these groups. If then there are no disagreements or breaks between the blocks, but they can be made to form a smooth narrative, it is simpler

to suppose that they came from a single source, in accord with the familiar canon of economy of hypotheses, than to needlessly multiply documents for whose distinct existence there is no evidence.

In the second place the transpositions and corrections of the Markan order, as it has already been argued (pp. 27–28), involve the conclusion that the materials affected by each correction should have stood in a continuous narrative. These transpositions, therefore, serve to link up several pairs of narratives, and even some of the larger groups. The location of the Strife of the Disciples (22:24–27) in its present position serves to show that the narrative of the Last Supper and the Farewell Discourse bore some relation to one another in the source. The fixing of the departure from the upper room *after* the warning to Peter seems also to connect the Farewell Discourse with the narrative of Jesus' arrest and death. Within the latter group there are a number of transpositions which serve largely to connect its members (see p. 24).

A third indication of unity is the presence of ideas common to different parts of the source, which serve to link the group together. The narrative of the arrival of Jesus at Jerusalem shares (19:41–44) with the Apocalyptic Discourse (21:20–24) and with the central narrative (23:27–31, 48) the interest in the fall of Jerusalem. The Apocalyptic Discourse also shares with the Farewell Discourse the description of future sufferings of the disciples (21:12; 22:36–37), against which they are to defend themselves (21:15; 22:36), and also the conception of the disciples as prominent in the Kingdom, "set before" its King (21:34; 22:30). Peter's denial is foretold in the Farewell Discourse (22:31–32) and described in the central narrative (22:56–62), and the mention of a sword in the Farewell Discourse (22:36, 38) is very surely reflected in the central narrative (22:50), although Jesus' attitude is described as changed (22:51). These links, if significant, will connect for us the initial narrative, the central narrative, the Apocalyptic Discourse, and the Farewell Discourse.

The notion that Jesus' ministry in Jerusalem was very successful (19:37, 48; 21:38; 23:27, 35, 48) is also reflected in the resurrection-narratives (24:18). The resurrection-narratives also appear to share with the Farewell Discourse the idea of the primacy of Peter (22:32; 24:34), and with the central narrative and the narrative of the Last Supper the thought that Jesus passed immediately from the cross into glory (22:16, 18; 23:43; 24:26; see p. 72). But the resurrection-narratives are connected with the tomb-narratives by the mention of the

visit of the women (24:2–9, 22). Within the central narrative the story moves logically with continual interdependence. A few of the remoter dependences may be noted: the question of the trial, εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστός (22:67), is repeated in irony at the cross (23:35, 39) and forms the basis of the charge of treason in the Roman court (23:2, 5); the desertion of the Twelve is implied at various points (22:31, 54, 58–60; 23:49), as is the hostility of the "high priests" (19:47; 20:20, 26; 23:2, 5, 10, 13, 35; 24:20). These links of common ideas, if significant, will serve to support the unity of the J materials.

A fourth line of proof of the unity of the materials may be found in the presence of turns of expression and words which are peculiarly characteristic of the materials and are present throughout, or at least in different sections. Of the 37 characteristic words of J (those marked † in the list, Appendix II), 14 are found only in the J materials of the central narrative and the Farewell Discourse, and this group of materials shares 5 words with the Apocalyptic Discourse, 6 with the narrative of the resurrection appearances, 3 with the introductory narratives, and 2 with the burial narratives; that is, it is connected with the other groups by a total of 16 words. The Apocalyptic Discourse is connected also with the introductory narratives by 2 words and with the resurrection-narratives by 2 words; that is, it is connected with the other groups by a total of 9 words. The narrative of the resurrection appearances is connected with the introductory narratives by 3 words and with the burial narratives by 5 words, in addition to its other connections with the Apocalyptic Discourse (2 words) and with the central narrative (6 words); so that it is connected with the other narratives by 16 words. The connections of the introductory narratives and of the burial narratives as given above total 8 words and 7 words, respectively. Thus the test of language common to the various sections also seems to indicate the unity of the J source. These connections are indicated upon the accompanying diagram (p. 80).

Against the unity of these materials may be urged the fact that the impersonal use of ἐγένετο, which is rare in the J materials, approximates the normal in the resurrection-narratives, occurring three times (24:15, 30, 51); but πολύς, which is characteristically rare in the J materials, does not occur at all in the resurrection-narratives; so that the previous exception is hardly significant. In general, also, the fact that a considerable number of characteristic words and turns of style can be gathered as distinctive of the whole group of materials seems to indicate that they possess at least a degree of homogeneity.

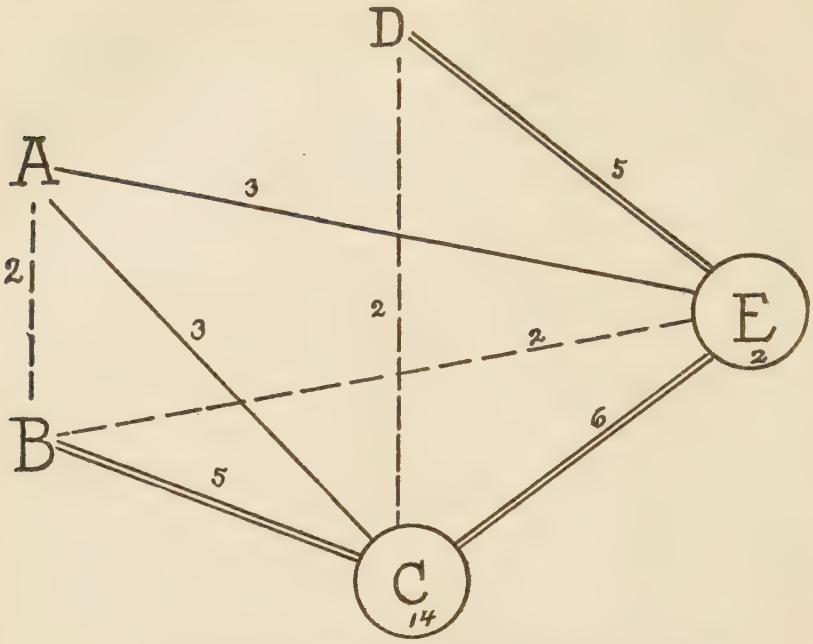

DIAGRAM OF THE CONNECTION BETWEEN DIVISIONS OF THE PASSION-NARRATIVE BY THE OCCURRENCES OF THE CHARACTERISTIC WORDS

Section A. The Introductory Narratives, 14 verses (19:28, 37–44, 47–48; 20:34–36).
Section B. The Apocalyptic Discourse, 17 verses.
Section C. The Last Supper, Farewell Discourse, and Central Narratives, 88 verses.
Section D. Narratives of the Tomb, 13½ verses (23:50—24:10*a*).
Section E. Narratives of the resurrection appearances, 41 verses.

Fifth, a more delicate test of the unity of the materials may be derived from their style and language by an examination of the distribution of those turns of style which are supposedly characteristic of the source and of expressions which seem to hint at a Semitic origin. Are they equally prevalent throughout, or does the coloring of the style vary somewhat in different portions of the source? This test, of course, cannot be applied with mathematical accuracy, since the factors of language are too many to be all taken account of; yet a decided and persistent diversity in the coloring of the language of the different groups must have considerable significance.

The distribution of the J characteristics, of the Aramaisms listed by Wellhausen,[1] and of the Lukan characteristics noted by Stanton,[2] is presented in Table IV, which gives in detail the number of occurrences in each section, and the average per verse.

TABLE IV

Sections (J Verses Only)	Number of Verses	J Characteristics			Stanton		Wellhausen	
		Number of		Proportion per Verse	Lukan Characteristics		Aramaisms	
		Words Marked †	Words Marked *		Number	Proportion per Verse	Number	Proportion per Verse
Introductory narrative:								
19:28, 37–40, 47–48	7	2	2	1.14	.....	.....	8	1.14
19:41–44	4	1	5	2.00	5	1.25	10	2.50
20:20, 26	2	0	2	1.00	.....	.....	1	0.50
20:34–36	3	0	2	0.66	.....	.....	4	1.33
Total	16	3	11	0.87	.....	.....	23	1.44
Apocalyptic Discourse:								
21:12–38	17	5	20	1.53	.....	.....	38	2.23
Last Supper narrative:								
22:8, 14–23	8½	5	2	0.82	8	0.94	13	1.53
Farewell Discourse:								
22:24–38	13	14	8	1.69	8	0.61	28	2.15
Central narrative:								
22:39–53	9½	7	4	1.26	10	1.05	21	2.21
22:54–62	7½	2	4	0.80	5	0.66	12	1.60
22:63–71	6½	1	2	0.53	2	0.30	10	1.82
23:1–16	15	9	4	1.13	25	1.66	27	1.80
23:18–25	8	7	4	1.30	5	0.64	9	1.16
23:27–31	5	0	1	0.20	0	0.00	14	2.80
23:32–37	4	4	3	1.50	7	1.75	4	1.00
23:39–43	5	3	2	1.00	11	2.20	6	1.20
23:46–49	3½	1	3	0.84	7	2.00	8	2.28
Total	64	34	27	0.96	72	1.10	111	1.73
Burial narrative:								
23:50–56	5	2	6	1.60	9	1.80	9	1.80
24:1–10	8½	10	1	1.30	7	0.82	12	1.41
Total	13½	12	7	1.40	16	1.18	21	1.55
Resurrection narratives:								
24:13–35	23	13	13	1.30	42	1.83	55	2.39
24:36–43	8	2	4	0.62	5	0.62	10	1.25
24:44–49	6	0	1	0.16	8	1.33	11	1.83
24:50–53	4	1	0	1.00	4	1.00	8	2.00
Total	41	16	18	0.83	59	1.45	84	2.05
Total for all J	173	89	93	1.05	163	1.14	318	1.82

[1] J. Wellhausen, *Einleit.*, pp. 15–25.

[2] V. H. Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, II, 287–90, 305–9.

Note in Table V the proportions for the larger groups into which the J matter appears to divide itself:

TABLE V

	J Characteristics	Aramaisms	Lukan Characteristics
Introductory narratives	0.87	1.44	.....
Apocalyptic Discourse	1.53	2.33	.....
Last Supper narrative	0.82	1.53	0.94
Farewell Discourse	1.69	2.15	0.61
Central narratives	0.96	1.73	1.10
Burial narratives	1.40	1.50	1.06
Resurrection narratives	0.83	2.05	1.45

A study of these figures shows that there is no possible relation between different columns to be discovered, that a large figure in one column is not regularly accompanied by either a large or a small figure in the others. This means that the variety of the literature is such that little can be determined from the proportional frequency of one or another set of stylistic particulars in any section of it. A few conclusions may be drawn, however.

a) The proportion of Lukan characteristics listed by Stanton is in no one of the groups equal to that of the earlier Markan sections which he lists.[1] Here, in the passages 4:31–44; 5:12–26; 8:22–56, 63 verses in all, there are 107 Lukan characteristics, an average of 1.70 characteristics per verse. None of the groups above reaches that average. There seems to be, therefore, no reason for assigning any of the above-mentioned blocks to the pen of the evangelist.

b) A high proportion of Aramaisms is, in the main, found in discourse sections. Thus the figures run: 19:41–44, 2.50 per verse; Apocalyptic Discourse, 2.23 per verse; Farewell Discourse, 2.15 per verse; Luke 23:27–31, 2.80 per verse; but Luke 23:39–43, 1.20 per verse. In these sections it is easily explained as due to the preservation of the original form of the saying recorded.

In the Apocalyptic Discourse, however, it should be noted that together with the high proportion of Aramaisms there goes a low proportion of J characteristics. This does not appear in the summary given above, but a closer examination shows that there are but a small minority of the words truly characteristic of J and that the majority of the words so listed are found in this section only of the Lukan writings.

[1] Stanton, *op. cit.*, pp. 279–86.

The proportion of J characteristics (6 words in 17 verses) might therefore be given as 0.35, a very low figure. This would suggest that the Apocalyptic Discourse was distinct from the rest of the J source, and it may indeed have been originally a small independent apocalypse of the fall of Jerusalem; but the difference in subject-matter will account in part for the small number of J characteristics found in it, and its general agreement with the remainder of the J materials against the rest of the Lukan apocalyptic in several points, particularly the emphasis upon the destruction of Jerusalem, would indicate that it must have been incorporated in J before that source reached the evangelist. In no other section of the J source do the peculiar words largely outnumber the more often repeated J characteristics.

The only other section where the Aramaic coloring is strong is that of the narratives of the resurrection appearances (24:13–53), which has an average of 2.05 Aramaisms per verse; while the remainder of the J materials, aside from the discourse sections enumerated above, has an average of 1.62 per verse, and the average of the infancy narratives is only 2.52 per verse. This certainly suggests that the concluding narratives of the Gospel were derived from a different source more akin to the infancy narratives; but, on the other hand, the proportion of J characteristics is just about the average (without an undue proportion of rare words), and it has already been shown that these narratives are connected in various ways with the rest of the J materials, so that it must be concluded that they were a part of the J source, whatever the explanation of the large proportion of Aramaisms may be. It should also be noted that a similar proportion of Aramaisms (2.21) is found in a section (22:39–53) which stands in the midst of the central narrative and which is connected with the thread of the story of J by cross-references and by the demands of the continuity of the narrative; so that a strong Semitic coloring is not impossible to J materials.

The conclusion of our study thus far is, therefore, that no one portion of the J materials can be shown, by any of the tests advanced, to be disparate from the main body of the J source in thought or style. Except for the minute elements, therefore, the J source as described above must be considered as a unity. We turn next to consider these briefer elements.

2. To assert of any source-document of the Gospels that no verse, no logion, no saying or incident recorded in it could have been derived from an extraneous source rather than from the document discussed is manifestly impossible, and no such statement may be made in the present instance. But it can be safely asserted that evidence is lacking to prove

heterogeneity of many of the briefer elements of the J source. A few general arguments for their homogeneity may be adduced.

First, there are no doublets in the J source. It has been shown above (pp. 17–19) that doublets, especially those of the Third Gospel, result most frequently from the duplication of the same saying in two sources, both of which are inserted. Therefore the absence of doublets, while it is evidence of a purely negative variety, looks toward the unity of the document considered. Certain sayings and phrases do appear, it is true, more than once in the J narrative; but these repetitions occur most often in close succession, and it has been shown that such repetition is a literary characteristic of the J materials (see p. 63). A possible doublet is found in 22:40 and 46 (though this seems more probably a repetition); but, if a doublet, the extraneous member is certainly derived from the Markan source.

Secondly, a complement to the absence of doublets is found in the infrequency of contradictions. This is not total absence, and some contradictions have already been pointed out (see pp. 72, 74); but these are few, and seem to reflect merely the evangelist's point of view. They lead simply to the conclusion, already recognized, that the source has undergone a certain amount of editorial revision; but on these grounds we must recognize an editorial hand in 24:7*d*, 46*b*, 47. The contrast between the preservation of the disciples in trouble (21:18–19) and their final victory and salvation (21:28) is hardly a contradiction of ideas, nor is that between the metaphorical command to "buy a sword" (even if intended literally as protection against assassination) (22:36) and the protest against its use under particular circumstances (22:51).

Thirdly, the continuity of the narrative and the limitations imposed by the necessity of consistent progress in it prohibit the introduction of more than a few extraneous phrases. And of the verses of the J source as we have it, few could be omitted without leaving a gap. A few of the scattered verses of the introductory narrative have no close bond with the general narrative, and have been admitted only under suspicion; these we may still suspect, 20:20, 26, 34–36, and perhaps 19:47–48, which to some extent duplicates 21:37–38. The remainder of the materials assigned to J adhere quite closely to the general course of the narrative.

There is therefore no reason for supposing that more than a few verses, largely editorial, of the materials previously assigned to J were wanting in the source of which the third evangelist made use. This source then should be regarded as a unity.

II. LITERARY FORM

As regards the literary form of the J source there are several possibilities. It may conceivably have been either an oral or a written source, and again, its language might have been either Greek or Aramaic, or possibly even Hebrew. To these possibilities we must now address ourselves. Evidence may be adduced to the solution of this problem along two chief lines: first, the Semitic coloring of the narrative, which suggests that there was an original Aramaic narrative of the same materials; and second, the Lukan coloring, which, if extensive, would lead to the inference that the third evangelist either was giving literary form to an oral tradition or was himself translating a document into the Greek and thus giving it the impress of his own style. With this evidence from style there are also further proofs to be adduced. We may turn to the questions at issue.

1. Was the J source an oral cycle of tradition or a collection of oral traditions, or was it a written document?

It has already been suggested (see pp. 27–30) that the divergences from the Markan order are sufficiently numerous and important to preclude the hypothesis that the J source consisted either of a mere collection of oral traditions or of a series of comments by some Christian authority upon the Markan account. It must have been a connected account with a fixed order. It is difficult to suppose, however, that even the order of a catechetical cycle of oral traditions would have prevailed in the mind of the third evangelist over the order of the written Markan document. This makes it seem more probable that J also was a written document.

The form of the conflations of J with Markan materials, especially in the Apocalyptic Discourse, is at times sufficiently awkward (see pp. 25–26) to show that it cannot have taken place in the mind of the evangelist, as must have been the case had he been using an oral source which he had committed to memory, but that they are true conflations of the pen, formed by the interweaving of two documents.

A stronger argument may be drawn from the style of the J source. It has been shown that the J materials have a greater proportion of unusual and characteristic words than do adjacent Markan materials (cf. p. 58). This could hardly be so were the evangelist using an oral source; for in such a case the literary form of the materials must inevitably lose a considerable portion of its own peculiar characteristics and take on rather the coloring of the evangelist's own style. But the reverse is, in fact, the case, for the Lukan characteristics as noted by Stanton[1]

[1] Stanton, *op. cit.*, pp. 279–309.

are fewer than in the Markan materials (1.09 occurrences per verse, against 1.70 per verse in Markan materials); and this is in spite of the fact that 97 of the 151 words listed by Hawkins[1] as characteristic of Luke are found in the J materials.

2. Was the J document written in Greek or in Aramaic?

The fact that the Semitic coloring of the J materials is stronger than that of Markan materials (1.82 per verse, or 1.67 per verse for the narrative portions, against 1.45 per verse in the Markan sections of Luke 20, see p. 68) suggests that the J source was an Aramaic document. A comparison with the infancy narratives, however, furnishes a means of checking up the worth of this impression. Of these materials we may accept the verdict of Bacon[2] that Torrey has "demonstrated" the fact that they were translated from a Semitic source. What then is their aspect? Two points should be noted: first, that they show a strong Semitic coloring (2.52 Aramaisms per verse); and second, that they have an equally large proportion of Lukan characteristics.[3] These two features—strong Semitic coloring and predominance of Lukan characteristics—may then be considered as typical of translations by the third evangelist from Aramaic or Hebrew. The fact then that the Semitic coloring of the J materials is not so strong as that of the infancy narratives casts doubt upon the hypothesis that they came to the evangelist in a Semitic version, and the further fact that the proportion of Lukan characteristics is smaller even than in the Markan materials quite disproves it.

Further proof that the document was Greek is also to be found in its peculiarities of vocabulary and style, which have been fully discussed already (pp. 56–66). The fact that it has stronger Semitic coloring than have the Markan materials might be explained by the hypothesis that it was originally composed in Aramaic, and was not a free composition in Greek as Mark probably was.

It seems quite apparent, therefore, that the J source came to the third evangelist in the form of a document written in Greek, but possibly a translation of an earlier Aramaic composition or collection of traditions.

III. CONTENT AND ORDER

1. The Jerusalem source is now presented to us as having been a written document, and it remains simply to reconstruct, as far as possible, its original form. In the case of this source the task will not be

[1] Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae* (2d ed., 1909), pp. 16–23.

[2] B. W. Bacon, "More Philological Criticism of Acts," *American Journal of Theology*, XXII (1918), 3.

[3] Hawkins, *op. cit.* (2d ed., 1909), p. 25.

difficult. Any account of the Passion period of Jesus' life and ministry is required, by the very nature of the facts with which it deals, to preserve a certain rather definite outline. The arrest, trial, crucifixion, death, and burial form a series of events which can have but a single order. A farewell discourse or a farewell meal with the disciples must precede these; so too must an apocalyptic discourse, if intended for the admonition of the disciples. The fright and desertion of the disciples, if it is to have significance, must be inserted before Jesus' death, or even earlier. No extended discourse to the populace could be inserted in the center of the narrative, save possibly in the guise of Jesus' speech in his own defense at the trial, and even so it would seriously interrupt the narrative. It is evident, then, that the order of the Jerusalem source would have been quite well determined by the necessary course of events.

It is likewise evident that a considerable amount of duplication between different Passion-narratives is inevitable. Any and all narratives of the event must contain mention of the arrest, trial, crucifixion, and death of Jesus, and some mention of his parting with the disciples and of his burial and resurrection is almost equally inevitable. The J source, therefore, will inevitably have related much that was told also in Mark, and some of its materials may have been supplanted by similar matter drawn from the Markan source; but as a matter of fact it is rarely that it is necessary to complete it from the Markan materials.

It is also to be expected that, in accord with his use of other sources, the evangelist will here also have edited and improved the form of his source, especially at the beginning or the end of a section. A pretty clear sample of this is found in 22:24, where the language quite closely approximates that of a similar editorial introduction, 9:46; but it is impossible, of course, to detect the hand of the evangelist certainly in every case.

2. The content of the J source has already been examined with considerable minuteness in the process of discriminating the materials of our study (see chap. iii), and the great mass of its materials have been enumerated (see p. 54). It remains to satisfy ourselves that this is an adequate description. As far as the materials thus described are concerned, there are few objections to be raised. A few verses (24:7, 46, 47) may contain phrases that are due to the hand of the editor; but in none have there been discovered any decisive indications of derivation from another source. It remains to discuss the verses classed as more doubtful, with one or two others. The following should be added to J:

19:47–48. These verses furnish the conclusion without which the account of the arrival of Jesus at Jerusalem would close very abruptly,

and they contain the idea of his popularity with the populace (cf. 23:27, 48, etc.), which is characteristic of J.

21:10, 11*b*. The Apocalyptic Discourse, as previously given, is without a suitable introduction. The words τότε ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς in vs. 10 create a break in the discourse which hints at a transition to a new document, and the words which follow in vs. 10, while paralleled in Mark, are a quotation from Isa. 19:2, and so easily duplicated in more than one source, while vs. 11*b* contains details not found in Mark. Verse 11*a*, however, seems to be Markan.

22:33. The words φυλακή and πορεύεσθαι are characteristic or frequent in J, so it is likely that Peter's reply (though not vs. 34) stood in J.

22:46*b*. This phrase is paralleled in Mark; but its repetition would be natural to J (cf. p. 63), and the idea of temptation is quite prominent in the source (cf. p. 73).

22:50, 51*b*. The words πατάσσω, εἷς, and the partitive use of ἐκ are characteristic of J. Verse 51*b* is closely connected with vs. 50.

22:53*a*. Verse 53*b* requires some introduction, and the previous portion of the verse, which does not follow the Markan parallel at all closely, would furnish this. If it stood in J it must have had some introduction, but this need not have been more than simply καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς.

23:25. The repetitiousness and the word φυλακή are characteristic of J.

23:47. The naturalness (dramatic verisimilitude) with which the Roman speaks is a characteristic of J.

23:55–56. Already assigned to J. The word μνημεῖον is frequent in J materials.

A few other verses should be mentioned:

20:17–18. Verse 18 may have been an editorial comment in a collection of "testimonies"[1] and introduced here either by the evangelist or by a later scribe, as it was, apparently, in Matthew.

20:20, 26. These contain none of the characteristic words of J, and their insertion here is hardly in the usual manner of Luke's literary method had they been taken from a source.

20:34–36. Certainly from a source, but no J context for it is apparent. It may or may not belong to J, or possibly to the same collection of "testimonies" from which 20:18 was drawn.

23:51*b*–53*a*. Markan materials replacing a necessary J connection.

[1] Cf. Rendel Harris, *Testimonies*, Part I, 1916.

24:1. Markan materials where a J connection is necessary.

3. Enough has been said already to indicate that the only possible order for the majority of the materials is that in which they now stand. In addition it has been made evident that Luke habitually uses his sources in their own order (see pp. 6, 13 f.). It is therefore probable that the original order of the J source is that in which it now stands in Luke, and there are no serious objections to this order to be found.

The Jerusalem document[1] then contained an account of the closing period of Jesus' ministry from the time of his arrival in the city through the resurrection appearances. It may have contained, in the earlier portion, a fuller account of Jesus' ministry in Jerusalem than we now have remaining, but as far as we can reconstruct it, it falls into nine divisions:

1. Jesus' Arrival in Jerusalem (19:28, 37–44, 47–48; 20:34–36 [?]).

2. The Apocalypse of Jerusalem (21:10, 11*b*–12*a*, 13–15, 18–20, 21*b*–22, 23*b*–26*a*, 28, 34–38).

3. The Last Supper (22:8, 14–19*a*, 21, 23).

4. The Farewell Discourse (22:24–33, 35–39).

5. The Arrest of Jesus and His Desertion by the Disciples (22:40–41, 42*b*–52*a*, 53, 54*a*, 55–60*a*, 61*ab*, 62–65).

6. The Trial of Jesus (22:66*a*, 67–68, 70; 23:1–2, 4–22*a*, 22*c*–25).

7. The Crucifixion (23:27–33, 35–37, 39–43, 46–49*a*).

8. The Narratives of the Tomb (23:50–51*a*, 53*c*–56; 24:2–10*a*).

9. The Resurrection Appearances (24:13–53).

[1] For a reconstruction of the document see Appendix III.

CHAPTER VI

THE RELATIONS OF THE JERUSALEM SOURCE

I. PROVENANCE AND AUTHOR

1. *Provenance.*—It has already been pointed out (see p. 86) that the Semitic or Aramaic coloring of the language of the Jerusalem document is sufficiently strong to suggest that the materials originated in a Jewish environment, and that a comparison with the Second Gospel serves to strengthen the impression of their Jewish origin. But the test of language alone cannot be decisive in this matter, and we may seek further lines of examination.

It is apparent, then, that not only the style of the J document, but its thought also, is that of a Jewish Christian community. The predominant interest of the whole document is in Jesus as the Messiah, and there is none of the Pauline interest in him as savior from sin. The very Aramaic title for the Messiah appears once, "Christ, a king" (23:2).

There is no recognition of the presence of Gentiles in the Kingdom (22:30), save in the general (and perhaps editorial) command to preach to them (24:47). So also there is a large interest in the fulfilment of scripture (cf. 21:22; 22:37; 24:25, 44–45). Again, there is a real interest in the Temple, and Jesus is closely connected with it (cf. 19:47; 21:38; 22:53), and the disciples are represented as making it the cradle of the Christian movement (24:53). Of the Jewish ritual also there is approval, since Jesus is represented as desirous to observe the Passover (22:15). And the general tone of the narrative throughout reflects a Jewish environment.[1]

Certain details which appear to depart from this Jewish standpoint do not in reality do so. The fact that Pilate is represented as exonerating Jesus (23:4, 14, 22) and as desirous to save him is really motivated by resentment against the Jewish *authorities* who are represented as responsible for his death, and perhaps even the actual agents in his crucifixion (cf. 23:25; 24:20). And the favorable comment of the centurion, which seems to imply approval of a Roman's act, is introduced

[1] Cf. P. Feine, *Eine vorkanonische Ueberlieferung des Lukas* (1891), 61–62; B. Weiss, *Quellen der syn. Ueberlief.*, p. 170. Wellhausen (*Einleit.*, p. 71) describes the materials peculiar to Luke as "Hellenistic and cosmopolitan throughout"; but he draws no examples of this from the Passion-narrative.

simply to magnify Jesus and to strengthen the impression of his innocence, and is fully offset by the mockery of the soldiers (23:36–37).

But there is also a peculiar interest in Jerusalem. It is represented as the base of the Christian movement (24:49, 53) and the scene of the appearances of the risen Jesus (24:7, 15, 34, 36). The whole narrative is laid within its limits, and its immediate environs—Emmaus (24:13) and the direction of Bethany (24:50)—are the only localities beyond which figure at all in the narrative. There is a considerable interest, also, in the populace of Jerusalem, who, in contradistinction to the rulers, are thought of as favorable to Jesus—that is, to the Christian movement (cf. 23:27, 48, etc.). And there is, moreover, an element of urbanity, an appreciation of a diverse point of view, as in the sentiment attributed to the centurion (23:47, see p. 64), which is most native to the life of the city. And finally, there is a very persistent interest in the capture and destruction of Jerusalem (19:41–44; 21:20–24; 23:27–31, 48, see p. 96), which argues that the author or his circle had a special attachment to the city. This sentiment is, indeed, attributed to Jesus himself, in that he is described as having wept for the city (19:41) as he bid others do (23:28).

This evidence, then, would all seem to indicate that the Jerusalem document took form in a Palestinian environment, and the natural conclusion that this must have been in the mother-church at Jerusalem is further borne out by the interests of the source.

2. *Author.*—As to the identity of the author, little can be said positively. He was, presumably, a native of his community, a Jewish Christian. But his cosmopolitan urbanity to some degree offsets this, and argues that he must have been, if of Jewish birth, a broad and cultured man. He may have been an eyewitness of the events he describes; this would account for the verisimilitude with which he recounts the remarks of his characters (see p. 64), and for the exact details of his narrative (see p. 62). The recurring interest in the disciples outside the number of the Twelve (19:37–49; 24:10, 33) suggests that the author himself may have been one of them.

Finally, it may be suggested, but only tentatively, that the author was Cleopas (24:18).[1] The astonishing fact that this narrative of Jesus' appearance to two otherwise unknown disciples is the longest in the Gospel, while that of his appearance to Peter is passed over with an indirect reference (24:34), would be explicable were it really a bit of

[1] Harnack (*Luke the Physician*, p. 153; *Lukas der Arzt*, p. 108) ascribes this material to Philip the evangelist and his daughters.

autobiography, while other explanation is wanting if the section be from J (as now seems probable) rather than a free composition by the evangelist (see pp. 53–54).

II. DATE

If the origin of the Jerusalem document is really to be traced to the Jewish Christian community of Jerusalem, its date is most naturally to be sought in the period preceding the fall of the city in 70 A.D.; for the flight of the Jerusalem community to Pella seems to have marked the end of their significance in the Christian movement. Against this early date, it would seem, the vivid descriptions of the fall of the city furnish strong evidence; but their testimony is not so positive as seems at first apparent, and they need to be interpreted in the light of other facts. We turn first, therefore, to an examination of other indications of the date at which the Jerusalem source took shape.

1. *Persecution.*—First of these is the reflection of a persecution of the disciples. This is seen in the explicit references to persecution (21:12–19; 22:37), in the warning not to fail under trials (22:31) and the promise of reward for those who persevere (22:28–29), and in the injunction to meet official attack passively (22:51). But there is also a prediction that the persecution will not be fatal; they will withstand their enemies (21:15) and not a hair of their head will fall (21:18–19), and their deliverance from the toils will come (21:28). Indeed, while a sword to keep off robbers and assassins may be needed (22:36), organized resistance is not necessary (22:38). Again, this persecution is a purely official action; for there is a bitter enmity against the ruling classes, who are represented as the enemies of Jesus (19:47; 21:37; 24:20), as bringing about his death (23:2, 23), and even as its direct agents (23:25; 24:20); but the populace is thought of as favorable to him (23:27; 23:48; cf. 19:48; 21:38; 24:19).

Into what known situation of the early Christian community do these facts fit? We have record in the Acts of two periods of persecution, one which arose with the martyrdom of Stephen, in which Saul was instrumental in the imprisonment of the Christians (Acts 8:2; 9:2, 14), but where there is no mention of executions, save in Saul's fevered purpose (Acts 9:1), and the second persecution, under Herod Agrippa I, about A.D. 44, in which James was executed and Peter imprisoned (cf. Acts 12:1–3). From that time on, the church seems to have lived in harmony with its Jewish surroundings, save for the execution of James the Just and a few others in 62 A.D. (cf. Eus. *H.E.* ii. 23. 21;

Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 9. 1), and there is nothing to indicate that there was any popular feeling against the Christians; but it appears rather that the opposition came entirely from the Jewish authorities. This situation, that of a humble class in disfavor with the authorities, but respected by the common people, is that reflected in the J source, and we might easily believe that it took form, possibly in the first persecution, about 34–35 A.D., but perhaps more probably at the time of the second, when the anticipation of a general assault and the memory of the preservation of the disciples through the former persecution would combine to give it the coloring of dread of persecution and hope of safety. The flight of the Christian community from Jerusalem to Pella, at the time of the siege, was felt by the Jews as desertion and treachery,[1] and the breach remained wide; so that after 68 A.D. there could have been no such feeling of cordial sympathy for the populace of the city as we find here. The date here indicated, then, would be about 44 A.D., or less probably, at the time of the execution of James, 62 A.D.

Again, there is a reference, not found elsewhere in the Gospels, to the imprisonment of Peter (22:33). According to Acts, Peter was several times arrested (Acts 4:3; 5:18; 12:4–5), but only on the last occasion, when imprisoned by Herod Agrippa, was he kept in prison for any length of time. This was in 44 A.D. probably, and though still in Jerusalem at the time of the Council, he appears to have left Jerusalem shortly after (Gal. 2:11) and to have left for the West by the time I Cor. was written (I Cor. 1:12; cf. I Cor. 9:5). The reference to his imprisonment points, then, to the same date, *ca.* 44 A.D.; later, interest in that event would have waned.

2. *The political situation.*—Politically a similar situation is reflected. There is a large interest in Herod Antipas, and especially in presenting him as acquitting Jesus (23:7–12). Such a tradition might be thought to have considerable apologetic weight with Agrippa I in the defense of those Christians who had been arrested by him. Again, the relation between Herod and Pilate as sketched in the J source (23:7, 11, 15) seems to reflect more or less the relation which prevailed with some of the later procurators, as between Festus and Agrippa (Acts 25:13 ff.), but also depicted in all the mingling of the Herods in Jewish politics. The interest in Herod's relation to Jesus, then, seems to best fit the time of Agrippa's persecution.

3. *The ecclesiastical situation.*—This is also primitive. There is a considerable interest in the larger group of disciples not of the number

[1] Cf. A. C. McGiffert, *The Apostolic Age*, p. 563.

of the Twelve. Their enthusiastic outburst of praise receives a commendatory justification from Jesus (19:37–40), the leaders are bidden to respect and minister to them (22:24–27), and they are brought into the narrative as sharing in full in its events collectively (24:10, 33) and figuring prominently as individuals (24:13, 18). On the other hand there is a considerable interest in establishing and supporting the authority of the apostles. Their prominence is tacitly recognized in the command to humility (22:25–27), and it is they who shall be the rulers and judges of the new Kingdom (22:28–30), and who are recognized to have held closest communion with Jesus upon earth (22:14, 15). But Peter's primacy is especially supported; he establishes the brethren (22:32); he is the first to recover from the blow of Jesus' arrest and rally to his old allegiance (22:61–62); he is the first of the apostles to reach the resurrection faith (24:34); and he, as the minister (22:8), is the greatest (22:26). This attitude toward the disciples seems to reflect a period when the ecclesiastical organization was at a minimum, and all disciples were teachers, but when the authority of the apostles and the practical leadership of Peter were recognized. It may reflect, too, the period of the gentile controversy, and the Council at Jerusalem, when Paul, not a member of the Twelve, became prominent. It could hardly be much later than the time of Peter's departure from Jerusalem, else traditions exalting the name of another—for example, James—must have been more prominent.

There are traces of greater elaboration of the ecclesiastical organization, however. In the passage 22:25–27 the use of the term *νεώτερος* may imply the existence of *πρεσβύτεροι*, and the *διακονῶν* also appears; but both of the words retain largely their literal significance (cf. 22:27). This argues a fairly early date for the material (cf. Acts 6:2–3).

The sacraments also are simple. The breaking of bread (24:30) resembles the Agape rather than the Eucharist, as though the former observance stood higher in the contemporary esteem; and where the Eucharist is described (22:17–19) it has an unusual order found elsewhere only in the Didache (Did. 9:4; cf. also I Cor. 10:16).

4. *Christology.*—The person of Christ is presented in very simple terms (cf. above, pp. 71–72). In general he moves through the narrative in completely human guise, as of one whom God should appoint to be Lord and Christ (cf. Acts 2:36; 3:20; 5:31, etc.). There is a definite purpose to prove that he is, proleptically, the Christ (cf. p. 71). He is also presented as the Servant of the Lord described by the exilic Isaiah (22:27; 22:37; cf. Isa. 53:12). These are elements of the earliest Chris-

tology of the Christian community as the early chapters of Acts present it to us.

In function he is thought of as having present power, to save in peril (21:15), to intercede with God (22:32), and to mediate divine power (22:29)—an attitude that appears to have prevailed in the early church, when they made prayer to Jesus for revelation of his will in the lot (Acts 1:23) or used the power of his name to work miracles (Acts 3:16, etc.). But the large interest in Jesus is in presenting him as one who should come in the office of apocalyptic Messiah, by virtue of his having suffered and been raised to heaven (cf. Acts 3:20–21; 2:32–33; 5:30–31). The necessity of proving that Jesus is Messiah, and the corollary that the Messiah is to come from heaven, was one of the first that confronted the Christian community, and one which ceased to loom large when Christianity passed from the Jewish environment. It cannot be dated closely, but probably was more necessary in the earlier portion of the period between Pentecost and the flight to Pella, when the new movement was at once the most active and the least understood.

The significance of Jesus' death is also a large interest in the J source. The main purpose of the document, indeed, is to describe that event, and its composition is therefore unthinkable until the death of Jesus took on meaning in the thought of the Christian community. But this interest began with their resurrection faith; for as soon as they attempted to describe Jesus as the apocalyptic Messiah, they had to explain the meaning of his death. The interest is here expressed in two ways. There is first a hint of the difficulty felt by many at the fact of Jesus' death, with a warning that this difficulty was devised by Satan (22:31). But the chief interest is to interpret the hard fact, and the explanation is frequently given that Jesus died to fulfil the prophecies (22:37; 24:26–27, 32, 44–46), because this was the means to his exaltation. This interpretation is identical with that offered by the primitive apostolic preaching as it is described in the early chapters of Acts (cf. especially 3:18–21).

5. *Eschatology.*—The eschatology of the J materials is closely connected with their Christology and scarcely needs independent discussion. It should merely be noted that there are some very early traditions which represent an expectation that the Kingdom would come with the arrest of Jesus, before his next meal (22:18), or at least before another Passover (22:16), and a slightly later tradition which interposes a period of persecution (chap. 21). The conception of a purely earthly kingdom is vigorously combatted in the description of the person of the Messiah,

and even the messianic entry is broadened by the succeeding passage (10:44) into the visit of the prophet and his announcement of the Kingdom. This polemic against the national and earthly view of the Kingdom was an essential feature of all the early Christian propaganda; and the imminent expectation of the Kingdom is probably not later than the early period of Paul's missionary work, or about 45 A.D., for there is no expression of the thought that it must wait even upon the evangelization of the Gentiles, an idea reflected by the other synoptists (Mark 13:10; Matt. 24:14) and in Paul's pressing haste to preach to the ends of the world.

6. *The fall of Jerusalem.*—The data thus far presented have all inclined to a date *before* the destruction, quite positively, and, so far as they admit of closer definition, to the period about, or shortly preceding, 45 A.D. Now it is generally supposed that the descriptions of the fall of Jerusalem (10:41–44; 21:20–24) reflect the actual events of the year 70 A.D., and that Luke has here remodeled his Markan source (at least in 21:20–24) to fit the event. But it has been shown that in the Apocalyptic Discourse Luke is making use of a second documentary source, and since the date of this source is in other respects to be set much earlier, we must raise the question whether this is, in truth, a *vaticinium ex eventu*.

In the passage 21:20–24 the description seems at first sight definite enough, but a closer inspection reveals the fact that it is cast in the most general of terms: the beleaguering forces (vs. 20), the slaughter and enslavement of the inhabitants, and the razing of the city (vs. 24) were the features of any successful siege, and could be imagined by any author without having witnessed or known of the operations against Jerusalem; and the warning to leave the city before the siege commenced was plain common sense. Torrey[1] points out that the key to the interpretation is certainly to be found in the reflection of Old Testament prophecy; for the author himself cites it as his authority for the fulfilment of all that is written (21:22).

The passage 19:41–44 is yet more definite, and describes the line of circumvallation, the razing of the city, and the slaughter of the inhabitants. Yet even these are generalized to a considerable extent, and do not correspond in minute particulars to the descriptions of Josephus. Thus the scarcity of timber led Titus to surround the city with a wall (τεῖχος, Jos. *B.J.* v. 12. 2) instead of the more usual palisade or rampart (χάραξ) described by J (19:43); and of many of the important works, the mounds, rams, etc., described by Josephus, the Jerusalem source

[1] C. C. Torrey, *Composition and Date of Acts*, pp. 69–70.

makes no mention, nor of the civil war and famine within the beleaguered city or the carrying into slavery of its inhabitants. Moreover, nearly every detail could be supplied, were that necessary, from such Old Testament passages as Ezek. 4:2–3 and Ps. 137:7–9.[1] There is then nothing in the details of this passage, though it is the most definite of the series, to preclude the possibility that it took form well before the time of the Jewish War.

As far as the details go, therefore, these prophecies against Jerusalem may well be dated at the same period as the rest of the materials of J, possibly reminiscent of the crisis when Caligula ordered his statue in the Temple (cf. Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 8; *B. J.* ii. 10; Tac. *Ann.* xii. 54).

It remains, however, to explain the lively interest felt by the source in the general subject of the destruction; for it recounts, not merely the two prophecies above, but also the more general prediction of 23:27–31 and the vague premonition of woe in 23:48. In a writer just following the period of the Jewish War such an interest is easily explained—and this may be the reason why the evangelist saw fit to employ these materials—but do grounds for such an interest appear earlier?

The motive which lay behind it, whether before or after the fall of the city, was to show that, by the refusal to accept Jesus as the Christ, the Jews had forfeited their ancient promises and were liable to punishment. This idea, which beyond doubt received a tremendous impetus from the destruction of Jerusalem, was yet a feature of the early apostolic preaching, according to the picture of Acts (cf. Acts 3:19–23; 4:12), and apparently even became sharpened into a prophecy against the Temple (Acts 6:14). Can we discover, then, in the period before the fall of Jerusalem, any causes which would fan this idea that Judaism was under condemnation into such a flame of denunciation as we find in J?

The expectation is easily explained: the world in which the early Christians lived was united in the assumption that the present world-order was under the governance of Satan and the powers of evil (cf. Luke 22:53), and that salvation must take the form of an escape from this dominion. The Jew expected this deliverance to come through the triumph of the Messiah and the destruction by him of the present order of things. For the Christian, therefore, who identified Jesus with the Messiah, and expected him to come in glory and consume the world and the evil powers at a single stroke, the only escape from disaster must be the acceptance of Jesus; and the first event in the program must be to dislodge Satan from his stronghold, the city which had rejected Jesus.

[1] Cf. B. Weiss, *op. cit.*, *Text u. Unters.*, 32 (1908), 3; pp. 184 f.

It was easy, therefore, for the Christian community to arrive at the conclusion that Jerusalem was under Satan's dominion, and must be destroyed unless she should repent, and this is just the attitude which is reflected in the first oracle against the city—she had failed to recognize her opportunity of escape, and was therefore doomed to destruction (19:44; cf Acts 3:23). The reconciliation of this attitude with the cordial feeling of the J author to the Jewish populace may seem difficult; but it probably lies in the strong sense of the organic unity of the community—as for the ancient prophets, so for the Christian, the nation must suffer for the sins of its rulers.

And the specific occasion for the prominence of such predictions of disaster to those who had rejected Jesus as the Christ has already been observed: it lay in the persecution which the Christians were suffering. Two motives are universally employed to strengthen those under persecution, the hope of reward and the promise of revenge. The former we have already observed in the J materials (cf. 21:28; 22:29–30); but the latter appears only in the oracles against Jerusalem. That these are intended to function thus and to strengthen the faith of persecuted Christians is clear enough from the very apposition of the second passage (21:20–24) to the prophecy of the persecution and the promise that it will not be mortal (21:12–19). The interest, then, that preserved these oracles against Jerusalem in the J source was the persecution of the disciples, and this, it has been shown, was probably about 44 A.D.

7. *Conclusions.*—It has thus been shown that all of the materials reflect a situation that prevailed in the primitive Christian community of Jerusalem by the year 45 A.D., and that there is no need to assign any of them to a later period. But the preservation of the coloring of this early day would be difficult unless the traditions had been handed down in written form, and most difficult had they not been compiled into a connected cycle. It may therefore be concluded that the Jerusalem document was committed to writing—in Aramaic of course—about the end of the reign of Herod Agrippa I, or at the time of his persecution, when the scattering of the community and the loss of its leaders would make the careful preservation of its traditions a matter of especial importance.

III. PURPOSE AND HISTORICAL VALUE

The interest of the author of the Jerusalem document is chiefly that of the historian, to present an account of the events which led up to and followed the death of Jesus. But his choice of this particular

period of Jesus' life must have been directed by some underlying motives. The first of these seems to have been an apologetic one, to present the details of that event about which centered the Christian apologetic in regard to the messiahship of Jesus, and to show how he could be the Suffering Servant and the apocalyptic Messiah. A second motive may have been a parenetic one, to encourage the disciples in the midst of trial and persecution by the example of their Lord and by the comfort of his promises of relief and threats of vengeance. The fact of persecution, too, which threatened to scatter the community and to deprive them of their leaders and of those who could relate from their personal experience the traditions about Jesus, may have been instrumental in leading the author to collect and commit to writing the traditions which the community valued.

Of the historical value of the narratives included in the J document it is impossible to give satisfactory demonstration; but they commend themselves as reasonable. A presumption in favor of their accuracy is established by the fact that the third evangelist chose to follow these materials rather than the Markan narrative, if any weight is to be attached to either the good sense or the purpose of accurate investigation which he has professed (Luke 1:3). The narrative is inherently more probable also in its details and relation. As Burkitt[1] points out, the mocking of Jesus is attributed to the idling guards and not to the priests, the trial of Jesus is set in the morning and not at midnight, the mock adoration of Jesus is attributed to Antipas' soldiers and not to the Romans, and the accusation brought against Jesus is far more definite and contains the "genuinely Jewish phrase" *χριστὸν βασιλέα*. Furthermore, the presence of "eyewitness details"—exact details of time and place (see pp. 62 f.) and exact reporting of remarks (see p. 64), together with the other evidence that the author was an eyewitness of the events he describes and one of the larger body of disciples—all this goes to show that he was in a position to write accurately of the things he narrates. Again, he records events which do not accord well with his own viewpoint and purpose, such as Jesus' acceptance of the title of Son of David (19:37–40, see p. 72) and his prediction of the fulfilment of the Kingdom before the next Passover (22:16).

And finally, he possessed the insight and breadth of view which are essential to accurate writing; whether or not he was an eyewitness, he had a sympathetic understanding of a diverse point of view, revealed in his fine distinctions between the taunts of Jew and Roman at the

[1] F. C. Burkitt, *Gospel History and Its Transmission*, pp. 136–39.

cross, for instance (see p. 64), which would enable him to write with a certain degree of objectivity and to criticize the traditions presented to him. We can hardly accept, then, for these materials the verdict of Harnack,[1] who attributes them, with the remainder of Luke's peculiar materials, to Philip and his four prophesying daughters, and characterizes the whole as "altogether wanting in sober-mindedness and credibility." Rather the historic value of the Jerusalem document must in any case be rated high; and if the author was indeed a disciple and an eye-witness, it becomes of prime importance.

IV. LITERARY RELATIONS

The early date of the Jerusalem document established, the question is raised: What relation had this document to the other source-documents of the gospels, and to the other gospels? This problem must now receive attention.

1. *Relation to other sources of Luke.*—It has been shown (p. 56) that the vocabulary of J is related more closely to that of the non-Markan portions of Luke than to that of the sections derived from the Markan source, since it contains 132 words found only in the non-Markan sections, and only 30 characteristic words found also in Markan materials. This fact lends a specious probability to the theory of Feine, Weiss, and Harnack[2] that the peculiar materials of Luke are to be traced to a single source. But this theory, which seems quite opposed to the facts of Luke's literary method (see pp. 8–13), also runs counter to the evidence of diversities between J and the remainder of the non-Markan materials, and it is equally difficult to connect J with either the Galilean or the Perean source. There is, first, diversity of style and language; all the evidence adduced in the discussion of the point (see pp. 56–70) bears equally upon this point, and while the kinship of J with G and P is closer than its relationship to Mark, its individuality remains distinct. Again, the diversity of thought is also marked. The interest of J in Jesus centers about his death; but G and P are concerned chiefly with his teaching and saving activities, and hardly make mention of the event which is central for J. In the eschatology of J the destruction of Jerusalem bulks large; but this appears nowhere in G or P with a like definiteness (even 13:34–35 reflects only Jesus' determination to abandon the

[1] A. Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 108; Eng. trans., p. 153.

[2] P. Feine, *op. cit.;* B. Weiss, *Die Quellen des Lukas Evangeliums: Die Quellen der synoptische Ueberlieferung;* A. Harnack, *op. cit.*, pp. 108 f.; Eng. trans., pp. 152 f.; cf. B. S. Easton, "Vocabulary of the L Source," *JBL*, XXIX (1910), 139–80.

city), and their chief interest is in the end of the age (12:54–56; 17:22–37) and the coming of the Messiah (12:35–40; 17:24, 30). Finally, from the G and P documents as they have been described above, the J source is set apart by the fact that Matthew makes no use of it (see p. 102), though it is hardly conceivable that, had he known it, Matthew would have failed to employ some, at least, of its materials, such as the ordination of Peter (22:31–32), the explicit statement that the disaster to Jerusalem was due to her rejection of Jesus (19:41–44), or the initiation of new members into the Kingdom from the time of the crucifixion (23:39–43). It must be concluded, therefore, that J cannot have been connected with either the Galilean or the Perean document.

The relations with the infancy narratives are somewhat closer. There are a number of similarities between the two, especially in forms of expression. The phrase with which Jesus' arrival at Jerusalem is greeted, "peace in heaven and glory in the highest" (19:38), recalls the hymn with which the angels celebrated his arrival upon earth (2:14), and the estimate of Jesus as "mighty before God and the people" (24:19) recalls the description of his youth "in favor with God and men" (2:52). So, too, the J document, and especially the resurrection-narratives, shares with the infancy narratives a large use of angels (1:11 ff.; 1:26 ff.; 2:9, 21; 24:4, 23), and of visions (1:8; 1:22; 24:23), and the general Semitic coloring of the narrative. But there are also striking diversities: the Holy Spirit, prominent in the infancy narratives (1:15, 35, 41, 67; 2:25–27), is not named in the J document; Jesus is presented as the Davidic earthly Messiah in the infancy narratives, the restorer of the nationality of Israel (1:33, 68–74; 2:11, 32, 38); but in J this idea is strongly combatted, while the idea of divine sonship, quite prominent in the infancy narratives (1:32, 35; 2:49), is merely hinted at (22:70). It is not possible, then, to connect the Jerusalem document with any of the other sources of the Third Gospel.

2. *Relation to Mark.*—The relation of the J source to the Markan source has been quite largely discussed above in the demonstration of its diversities from that document in the matter of order, content, and language. This is sufficient to prove that there was no close literary relationship between the two documents. In spite of these diversities, however, it should be noted that there are extensive resemblances. The history related in the Jerusalem document is essentially the same as that in the closing chapters of Mark; the majority of the events are the same (including even events as little necessary to the course of the narrative as the prayer in the garden, Peter's denial, and the mocking of

Jesus), and they are narrated in essentially the same order, although there are transpositions as great as the necessary sequence of events will permit. The explanation of the agreements, however, cannot be literary, but will be found rather in the supposition that both go back to the common apostolic tradition, if not to the very events which they describe.

In view of the theory of some[1] that the Apocalyptic Discourse of Mark is composite in origin, and contains a "little apocalypse," including, roughly, Mark 13:7–8, 14–20, 24–27, 30, it should be noted that the Apocalyptic Discourse of J shows no signs of relationship to such a document,[2] and that the Markan materials interpolated in it were drawn from both elements of the completed Markan version.

3. *Relation to the Gospel of Matthew.*—The parallels between the Jerusalem source and Matthew are very few.[3] There are eight instances of agreement against Mark in a chance word or phrase (cf. Appendix I, list VII B); but these are relatively rare and can easily be attributed to accident. Of the more significant agreements involving an entire clause or verse, there are but four close parallels. Of these, Matt. 23:11 is only remotely parallel to J (Luke 22:26), stands in a different position, and may quite as easily have been a repetition by the first evangelist of the sentiment already expressed in previous sections (Matt. 18:4; 20:26); Matt. 19:28 agrees with J (Luke 22:30) only in one clause, and the setting is different; Matt. 26:75 and 68*b*, however, agree quite closely with J (cf. Luke 22:62, 64*b*).[4] In addition to these verbal agreements there are a few instances where Matthew and J agree against Mark in the thought, chiefly in common additions to the narrative, of similar tenor but different content. These are: Jesus' approbation of the plaudits of the crowd (Luke 19:39–40; cf. Matt. 21:14–16), Jesus' remark to Judas (Luke 22:48; cf. Matt. 26:50*a*), his rebuke of the rash disciples (Luke 22:51; cf. Matt. 26:52–54), and the account of the spectators at the cross (Luke 23:35*a;* cf. Matt. 27:36). There may be brought forward, therefore, only two, or three at the most, cases of verbal agreement, and four vague agreements in

[1] Cf. P. W. Schmiedel, "Gospels," *Enc. Bibl.*, II, col. 1857; R. H. Charles, *Eschatology* (2d ed., 1913), pp. 379–84.

[2] It omits the verses Mark 13:24–27 and has a different version of the disaster to Jerusalem, Mark 13:14–20. The P document reflects the "little apocalypse" more clearly.

[3] For list see Appendix I, list VII.

[4] Matt. 21:44 (=Luke 20:18) is of doubtful textual authenticity, and the parallel verse in Luke seems hardly to belong to J.

the general sense to prove that Matthew was acquainted with the J document. This evidence is altogether too slight to demonstrate any literary relationship.

On the other hand, it may be urged that Matthew would not have used many of the J materials had he been acquainted with the document. This is true to some extent. Matthew has chosen to follow the outline of the Second Gospel in his Passion-narrative, and that fact at once considerably limits his use of the J materials, which would largely duplicate the narrative he followed. Certain other of the J materials, also, are not adapted to his purpose; for instance, the eschatology of J is quite largely concerned with the fall of Jerusalem, while Matthew is thoroughly apocalyptic and looks to the end of the age. But it would seem that Matthew, if he had known them, would have been likely to insert such passages as that of Jesus weeping over the city and prophesying her ruin as the result of rejecting him (Luke 19:41–44), of his exalting Peter to the primacy among the disciples (Luke 22:32), the logion of the Jews' wilful disbelief (Luke 22:67–68), or the acceptance by Jesus of one rejected by Judaism as a citizen of the Kingdom coincident with his own rejection (Luke 23:39–43). And these Matthew could easily have inserted in his account: the first might have been placed just after 21:17 or 22, or (most of it, vss. 43–44) 23:39; the second after 26:34 or 41 or 43; the third after 21:27 or 26:62 or 63; and the last in the parallel location, after 27:44.

It is then equally impossible either to demonstrate a literary relationship or to account for Matthew's omission of practically all of the materials of J if he was acquainted with that document. It is easier to explain the few significant resemblances on the ground of the oral tradition or of early harmonistic corruption of the text. The most that can be said is that Matthew may have once read the Jerusalem document some time before he began his Gospel, and no longer had it in his possession; but even for this there is no sufficient evidence. It is safer to conclude that there was no sort of literary relationship between the First Gospel and the Jerusalem source.

4. *Relation to the Fourth Gospel.*—It has been frequently remarked[1] that the Third Gospel stands closer in many ways to the Fourth Gospel than do the other two. This relationship Harnack[2] ascribes to dependence upon a common source, which he, however, is inclined to believe

[1] For example, cf. J. Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 65; A. Harnack, *op. cit.*, Anh. IV, pp. 157–60; Eng. trans., pp. 224–31.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 108; Eng. trans., p. 152.

oral rather than literary. This raises the question, however, whether the materials of J stand in any peculiar relation to the Fourth Gospel.

A study of the Passion-narratives of the Third and Fourth Gospels reveals at once very considerable similarities, and these similarities are always in the J materials of the Third Gospel. In both, the Pharisees take umbrage at the popular acclamation of Jesus upon his entry into the city (Luke 19:39–40; John 12:19); in both Jesus is represented as not eating the Passover (Luke 22:15–16; John 13:1); in both Jesus takes leave of his disciples in a farewell discourse of warning and encouragement (Luke 22:24–38; John 14–17); in each he enforces a lesson of humility by his own example (Luke 22:27; John 13:1–11); in each he prays in behalf of his disciples (Luke 22:32; John 17); in both Peter is commissioned to a special office (Luke 22:32; John 21:15–17; cf. Luke 22:34; John 13:37–38); in both it is mentioned that Peter's stroke severed the slave's *right* ear (Luke 22:50; John 18:10); in both Peter's denials seem to fall *before* the trial of Jesus by the high priest, and in both that trial appears to fall in the morning (Luke 22:66; John 18:24, 27–28); in both Pilate three times proclaims Jesus' innocence (Luke 22:4, 14, 22; John 18:38; 19:4, 6). Most significant of all, in both the resurrection appearances of Jesus are laid in Jerusalem, not in Galilee; in both they take place on Easter Day; in both the disciples as well as the women visit the empty tomb (Luke 24:24; John 20:2–10); both insist on the corporeality of Jesus, and tell of his eating with the disciples (Luke 24:41–43; John 21:12–13); and both recount in similar terms his appearance among the disciples on Easter evening and his commission of them (Luke 24:36–49; John 20:19–23).

In particulars, also, there is a considerable resemblance between J and the Fourth Gospel. Of the 63 resemblances between the Passion-narrative of the Synoptic Gospels and the Fourth Gospel, there are 31 in which the Lukan account is the closest to the Johannine, or at least shares with it some details not found in the other two Gospels. Of these 31 parallels 26[1] are in the J materials. But there are also only 27 parallels[2] in which the Markan narrative or the common synoptic tradition is closest or shares with John peculiar details, and only 12[3] in which the First Gospel shares peculiar materials. This would seem to indicate that the Jerusalem document is directly or indirectly, equally with Mark, one of the principal sources for the Johannine account of the Passion.

[1] For list see Appendix I, list VIII A.

[2] For list see Appendix I, list VIII B.

[3] For list see Appendix I, list VIII C.

That this relationship is a literary one, however, there is no sign. The resemblances of Luke and John pointed out by Harnack[1] are largely to the portions of the Gospels anterior to the Passion-narrative, and show that the nearer approach of the Third Gospel to the Fourth is not simply a matter of the use by the fourth evangelist of the J document. Of the 88 words, also, which Harnack lists as common to both Gospels, but 21 occur in J, and of these only 4 (*ἀποβαίνω, λύπη, ποτέ, στάδιον*) are J characteristics. No peculiar literary connection, then, between J and the Fourth Gospel is to be supposed, and the problem of their relation is simply that of the Third and the Fourth Gospels.

V. CONCLUSIONS

It has now been demonstrated that the third evangelist employed a distinct source of some considerable length in his account of the Passion. To this conclusion two lines of evidence converge: the external evidence, gained by comparison of the Lukan account with the Markan, and the internal evidence of style and thought.

The comparison of the Third Gospel with the other two synoptics in the narrative anterior to the account of the Passion (chap. 1) has established the fact that Luke used his major sources with a very considerable degree of uniformity. A comparison of Luke with Mark in the Passion-narrative, however (chap. 2), demonstrates that in order of sections, in similarity of language, and in the introduction of new materials, Luke departs so widely from his former agreement with his Markan source that it cannot be supposed that he is longer dependent upon it in the main. An examination of the materials in detail (chap. 3) reveals a group of materials which form a connected account of the arrival of Jesus in Jerusalem, of his discourses, of his arrest, trial, and death, and of his resurrection and appearances to the disciples. Thus the external evidence makes plain the employment by the third evangelist of a source of considerable length.

The internal evidence confirms this conclusion, and the materials ascribed to J on the grounds of external diversity from the Passion-narrative of the Second Gospel are shown to be independent of the rest of the sources of the Third Gospel (chap. 4) and to possess a unity of their own. Their vocabulary is independent, possessing a number of specially characteristic words, having its own choice of synonyms, and using but rarely words which are characteristic of the Lukan writings as a whole. They show individuality of style, also, with characteristic forms

[1] *Loc. cit.*

in the rhetoric and syntax and with a stronger Semitic coloring of the language than has the Markan narrative. And in the matter of thought and viewpoint, finally, they stand apart from the rest of the Third Gospel.

The unity of the document stands unassailed. It is impossible to separate it into a few divisions or to prove the individual verses of alien origin. Ideas and expressions common throughout the narrative, and the distribution of characteristic words and Semitic coloring, serve to uphold its unity, and the absence of doublets and contradictions and the continuity of the narrative further reinforce it.

Finally, it has been shown that this source was a Greek document, probably a translation from the Aramaic (chap. 5), that its origin is probably to be fixed in the Christian community at Jerusalem, about the year 45 A.D., and that its author was probably a disciple of Jesus and eyewitness of the events he describes. We therefore conclude that in the Passion-narrative of Luke we have preserved an early account of the Passion of the Lord which furnishes valuable independent evidence for the reconstruction of the details of that event.

APPENDIX I

AGREEMENT AND DIVERGENCE OF LUKE'S PASSION-NARRATIVE WITH MARK

I. Materials in Luke's Passion-narrative without parallel in Mark: Luke 19:(1–27), 37*a*, 39–44; 20:18, 34–35*a*, 36*b*; 21:18, 22, 24, 25*b*–26*a*, 28; 22:15–16, 27*ab*, 28–32, 35–38 (43–44), 48–49, 51, 53*c*, 61*a*, 67*b*–68; 23:4–16, 22*bc*, 27–31 (34*a*), 35*a*, 39–43, 46*b*, 48–49*a*, 51*a*, 53*c*, 56*b*; 24:3, 7–8 (10*b*–11) (12), 13–53.

II. Materials in Luke's Passion-narrative with remote parallel in Mark (remote agreement is reckoned as agreement in less than 50 per cent of the language in discourse materials, or less than 40 per cent in narrative): Luke 19:28, 37*b*, 47–48; 20:17, 20, 26, 35*b*–36*a*; 21:11–16, 19–20, 21*b*, 23*b*, 34–36, 37–38; 22:3–4, 8, 14, 17, 21, 23, 24–26, 27*c*, 33, 39–41, 45, 47*b*, 52*a*, 54*a*, 55–56, 58–60*a*, 62, 63–65, 70; 23:1–2, 18–19, 23–25, 32, 33*b*, 35*b*–37, 50, 54–56*a*; 24:2, 4–6, 9.

III. Materials "closely paralleled" in Mark, but closely connected with non-Markan materials: Luke 19:38; 22:18–19*a*, 47*a*, 50, 66*a*; 23:20–21, 33*a* (38), 46*ac* (47) (51*b*–53*b*); 24:1, 10*a*.

IV. Omissions by Luke of Markan materials:

A. Omissions previous to the Passion-narrative: Mark 1:5–6, 13*b*, 16–20; 2:27; 3:19*b*–30; 4:24*b*, 26–34; 6:1–6, 18–29, 31, 34*b*, 38; 6:45—8:26, 32–33; 9:9–13, 21–24, 26–29, 39*b*, 41–50; 10:1–12, 16, 24, 31, 32*a*, 35–45, 50.

B. Omissions in the Passion-narrative: Mark 11:11–14, 15*b*–16, 19–25; 12:11, 28–31, 33–34*a*; 13:10, 20–23, 27, 32, 34–37; 14:3–9, 20 (23–24), 26–29, 31*c*, 33–34, 38*b*–42, 44, 46, 50–52, 55–61, 64; 15:1*a*, 4–6, 8, 10, 16–20, 23, 25, 29, 34–36, 44–45; 16:3, 7–8.

V. Passages introduced in a position different from that given them in Mark:

A. Transpositions previous to the Passion-narrative in Markan narrative: Luke 3:2–3, 19–20; 6:17–19; 8:19–21, 29*b*, 42*a*, 46*b*, 51*b*, 55*c*; 9:14*a*, 34*b*, 48*c*.

B. Transpositions in the Passion-narrative: Luke 21:37; 22:8, 17–18, 21–22, 23, 24–27, 39*a*, 40, 56–62, 63–65, 66, 67*a*, 70; 23:2, 19, 32, 33*b*, 36, 37*b*, 38, 45*b*, 54; 24:10*a*.

VI. Breaks, discrepancies, and doublets in the narrative apparently due to a conflation of sources:

A. Interruptions of the context appear in the following passages: Luke 21:15–18, 20–22, 26–28; 22:32–35, 49–51*a*, 50–51*b* (51*a*–53*c*), 69–71; 23:33*a*–34*b*.

B. Appended details: Luke 23:10, 32, 35, 38, 54; 24:10*a*.

C. Redundancies and discrepancies: Luke 21:6*b*, cf. 19:44*b*; 21:16, cf. vs. 18; 22:52*b*, cf. vs. 53*c*; 23:4, cf. vs. 3*b*; 23:23-24, cf. vs. 25; 24:9, cf. vs. 10*b*.

VII. Agreements of the non-Markan materials of Luke's Passion-narrative with Matthew:

A. Agreements of entire thought or verse: Luke (20:18); 22:26, 30*b*, 62, 64*b*.

B. Agreements in single word or brief phrase: Luke 22:18 (ἀπό), 21 (χείρ), 42 (πλήν), 45 (πρὸς τοὺς μαθητάς), 67 (εἶπον ἡμῖν), 70 (τοῦ Θεοῦ); 24:9 (ἀπήγγειλαν), 47 (πάντα τὰ ἔθνη).

C. General agreements of the narratives: Luke 19:39–40 (cf. Matt. 21:14–16); 22:48 (cf. Matt. 26:50*a*), 51 (cf. Matt. 26:52–54); 23:35 (cf. Matt. 27:36).

VIII. Agreements of the Passion-narratives in the Synoptic Gospels and the Fourth Gospel:

A. Agreements of the Passion-narratives in which the Lukan version is closest to the Johannine: Luke 19:38 (John 12:13*b*); 21:12 (John 15:20–21); 22:3 (John 13:2, 27), 23 (John 13:22), 25–27 (John 13:3–5, 12–15), 33–34 (John 13:37–38), 39 (John 18:1–2), 50 (John 18:10*b*), 55–60 (John 18:15–18, 25–26), 67–68 (John 18:21); 23:1 (John 18:28), 2 (John 18:29–32), 4 (John 18:38), 20–23 (John 19:4–7), 33 (John 19:18), 46 (John 19:30), 53*c* (John 19:41), 54 (John 19:42); 24:1–2 (John 20:1), 3–5 (John 20:11–13), 8–10 (John 20:2), 22–23 (John 20:2, 11–13), 24 (John 20:3–10), 36–40 (John 20:19–20, 26–28), 48–49 (John 15:26–27; 20:22).

B. Agreements of the Passion-narratives in which the Markan version is closest to the Johannine:

Luke 19:35 (Mark 11:7; John 12:14–16), 45–46 (Mark 11:15–17; John 2:14–16); — (Mark 11:24; John 15:7); 21:15 (Mark 13:11; John 14:26), 16 (Mark 13:12; John 16:2), 17 (Mark 13:13; John 15:21), — (Mark 13:23; John 16:1, 4); 22:21 (Mark 14:18; John 13:21), 21 (Mark 14:20; John 13:18, 26), — (Mark 14:28; John 16:

16, 22), 40–42 (Mark 14:32–36; John 12:27), 42 (Mark 14:36; John 18:11*b*), 47 (Mark 14:43; John 18:3), 50 (Mark 14:47; John 18:10*a*), 53 (Mark 14:49; John 18:20), — (Mark 14:58; John 2:19, 21), 63–65 (Mark 14:65; John 18:22); 23:3 (Mark 15:2; John 18:33–37), 11 (Mark 15:16–20; John 19:2–3), 18–19 (Mark 15:6–11; John 18:39–40), — (Mark 15:15; John 19:1), 33 (Mark 15:22; John 19:17), 34 (Mark 15:24; John 19:23–24), 36 (Mark 15:36; John 19:29), 49 (Mark 15:40; John 19:25), 54 (Mark 15:42; John 19:31); 24:10 (Mark 16:1; John 20:1).

C. Agreements of the Passion-narratives in which the Matthaean version is closest to the Johannine: Luke 19:36 (Matt. 21:8; John 12:12–13*a*), — (Matt. 21:4–5; John 12:15–16); 22:2 (Matt. 26:3–5; John 11:47–48), — (Matt. 26:31; John 16:32), 51 (Matt. 26:52; John 18:11*a*), 54 (Matt. 26:57; John 18:12, 24); 23:25 (Matt. 27:26; John 19:16), 38 (Matt. 27:37; John 19:19), 50–52 (Matt. 17:57–59; John 19:38), 53 (Matt. 27:60; John 19:41), — (Matt. 28:9–10; John 20:14–18); — (Matt. 28:18; John 16:15); 24:47–48 (Matt. 28:18–20; John 20:21).

APPENDIX II

VOCABULARY OF THE JERUSALEM DOCUMENT

Words marked with an asterisk (*) occur nowhere else in the Lukan writings. Words marked with a dagger (†) are especially characteristic of J, occurring at least twice in that source and not more often in the rest of Luke or in Acts.

ἀγαθός
ἄγγελος
ἀγοράζω
*ἀγρυπνέω
ἄγω
ἀδελφός
*ἀθροίζω
αἰνέω
αἴρω
αἰτέομαι
*αἴτημα
†αἴτιος
*αἰχμαλωτίζω
αἰών
ἀκολουθέω
ἀκούω
ἀλήθεια
ἀλλά
ἀλλήλων
ἄλλος
ἁμαρτία
ἁμαρτωλός
ἀμήν
*ἄμπελος
ἀναβαίνω
ἀνάγκη
ἀναιρέω
†ἀνάκειμαι
ἀνακράζω
ἀνακρίνω
ἀνακύπτω
†ἀναπέμπω
ἀναπίπτω
*ἀνασείω
ἀνάστασις
ἀνήρ
ἀνθίστημι
ἄνθρωπος
ἀνίστημι
*ἀνόητος
ἄνομος
ἀντεῖπον
ἀντί
*ἀντιβάλλω
ἀντίκειμαι
ἄξιος
ἀπαγγέλλω
ἀπάγω
ἅπας
ἀπέρχομαι
ἀπέχω
†ἀπιστέω
ἀπό
ἀποβαίνω (*"happen")
ἀποθνήσκω
ἀποκρίνομαι
*ἀποκυλίω
ἀπολαμβάνω
ἀπόλλυμι
ἀπολογέομαι
*ἀπολύτρωσις
ἀπολύω
ἀπορέω
*ἀπορία
ἀποσπάω
ἀποστέλλω
ἀπόστολος
ἀποστρέφω
*ἀποψύχω
ἅπτω
ἄρα
*ἀρίστερος
ἀρνέομαι
ἄρτος
ἀρχιερεύς
ἄρχω
ἄρχων
†ἅρωμα
ἀστράπτω
ἄστρον
ἀτενίζω
ἄτερ
ἄτοπος
αὐλή
*αὐλίζομαι
αὐτός
ἀφαιρέω
*ἄφαντος
ἄφεσις
ἀφίημι
ἄχρι

†βαλλάντιον
βάλλω
βαρέω
βασιλεία
βασιλεύς
*βιωτικός
βλασφημέω
*βολή
*βουλευτής
βουλή
βουνός
*βραδύς
βραχύς
*βρώσιμος

γαμέω
γαμίζομαι
*γαμίσκομαι
γάρ
γέ
γένημα
γεννάω
γῆ
γίνομαι
γινώσκω
γνωστός
γόνυ
γραμματεύς
γραφή
γράφω
γυνή

δέ
δεῖ (δέω)
δέξιος
δέρω
δέχομαι
δέω
διά
διακονέω
διαλογισμός
διαμένω
διαμερίζω
διανοίγω
διαστρέφω
†διατίθεμαι
διδάσκαλος
διδάσκω
δίδωμι
διερμηνεύω
†διΐστημι
(*="be parted")
διϊσχυρίζομαι
δίκαιος
*δικαίως
διότι
διώκω
δοκέω
δόξα
δοξάζω
δοῦλος
δύναμαι
δύναμις
δυνατός
δύο
δώδεκα

ἐάν
ἑαυτοῦ
ἐάω
†ἐγγίζω
ἐγείρω
ἐγώ, ἐμοῦ, μοῦ
*ἐδαφίζω
ἔθνος
ἔθος
εἰ
εἶδον
εἰμί
εἶπον, ἐρῶ
εἰρήνη
εἰς
εἷς
εἰσάγω
εἰσέρχομαι
ἐκ
ἑκατοντάρχης
ἐκδίκησις
ἐκεῖ
ἐκεῖνος
*ἐκκρέμαμαι
†ἐκλείπω
ἐκλεκτός
ἐκμυκτηρίζω
*ἐκπνέω
ἐκτείνω
ἐκφεύγω
*ἐκχωρέω
†ἐλαία
†ἐλπίζω
†ἐμβλέπω
†ἐμπαίζω
ἔμπροσθεν
†ἔμφοβος
ἐν
ἐναντίον
†ἔνδεκα
ἐνδύω
ἐνθάδε
ἐντολή
ἐνώπιον
ἐξάγω
*ἐξαιτέομαι
ἐξαποστέλλω
ἐξέρχομαι
ἐξηγέομαι
*ἐξήκοντα
ἐξίστημι

ἐξουθενέω
ἐξουσία
*ἐξουσιάζω
ἔξω
ἐπαγγελία
ἐπαίρω
*ἐπεισέρχομαι
ἐπέρχομαι
ἐπερωτάω
ἐπί
ἐπιβάλλω
ἐπιγινώσκω
ἐπιδίδωμι
ἐπιθυμέω
*ἐπιθυμία
ἐπίκειμαι
*ἐπικρίνω
ἐπισκοπή
ἐπιστρέφω
*ἐπισχύω
ἐπιτιμάω
ἐπιφωνέω
*ἐπιφώσκω
ἔργον
*ἐρήμωσις
ἔρχομαι
ἐρωτάω
†ἐσθής
ἐσθίω
*τὸ ἐσόμενον
ἐσπέρα
ἕτερος
ἔτι
ἑτοιμάζω
ἕτοιμος
*εὐεργέτης
εὐλογέω
εὑρίσκω
εὐτόνως
†εὐχαριστέω

ἐφίστημι
*ἐφνίδιος
*ἔχθρα
ἐχθρός
ἔχω
ἕως

ζάω
ζητέω

ἤ
ἡγέομαι
ἤδη
ἥκω
ἥλιος
ἡμεῖς
ἡμέρα
ἡσυχάζω
ἦχος

θάλασσα
θάνατος
θαυμάζω
θεάομαι
θέλημα
θέλω
θεός
θεωρέω
*θεωρία
θρηνέω
θρίξ
θρόνος
θυγάτηρ

ἰάομαι
ἰδού
ἱερόν
ἱκανός
ἱμάτιον
ἵνα

*ἰσάγγελος
ἵστημι
ἰχθύς

καθεύδω
κάθημαι
καθίζω
καθώς
καί
καιρός
καίω
†κακοῦργος
καλέω
καλύπτω
καρδία
κατά
*κατάβασις
κατακλίνω
κατακολουθέω
καταξιόω
κατηγορέω
†κατισχύω
κεῖμαι
κεφαλή
κηρύσσω
κλαίω
κλάσις
κλάω
†κλίνω
κοιλία
κοιμάομαι
κόπτομαι
κράζω
*κρανίον
κρατέω
κρεμάννυμι
*κρεπάλη
†κρίμα
κρίνω
κρύπτω

κτάομαι
κυκλόω
*κυριεύω
κύριος
κωλύω
κώμη

λαλέω
λαμβάνω
λαμπρός
*λαξευτός
λαός
λέγω
λίθος
*λίαν
λογίζομαι
λόγος
λοιπός
*λύπη
*λυτρόομαι

μαθητής
μακάριος
μακρόθεν
μαρτύριον
μάρτυς
μαστός
†μάχαιρα
μέγας, μείζων
*ὁ μείζων
*μέθη
μέλλω
μέν
μένω
μέριμνα
μέρος
μέσος
μετά
μετάνοια
μή
†μιμνήσκομαι
†μνημεῖον
μόνος
μύρον

νεκρός
νεώτερος
νόμος
*νοῦς
νύν
νύξ

ξηρός
ξύλον

ὁ, ἡ, τό
ὁδός
οἶδα
οἰκία
οἰκουμένη (οἰκέω)
ὅλος
†ὁμιλέω
ὁμοίως
ὄνομα
†ὄντως
*ὄξος
ὀπτασία
*ὀπτός
ὅπως
ὁράω
ὀργή
*ὀρθρίζω
*ὀρθρινός
ὄρος
ὅς, ἥ, ὅ
*ὀστέον
ὅστις
ὅταν
ὅτε
ὅτι
οὐ
οὗ
οὐδέ
οὐδείς, οὐθείς
οὖν
*οὔπω
οὐρανός
οὗς
οὔτε
οὗτος
οὕτως
οὐχί
ὀφθαλμός
ὄχλος

*παγίς
†παιδεύω
(*="scourge")
παιδίσκη
*παίω
πάλιν
*παμπληθεί
*πάντοθεν
παραβιάζομαι
παραγίνομαι
*Παράδεισος
παραδίδωμι
*Παρασκευή
παρατίθημι
*παρεμβάλλω
*παροικέω
πᾶς
πάσχα
πάσχω
πατάσσω
πατέω
πατήρ
†πειρασμός
περί
*περιάπτω
περιβάλλω

*περικαλύπτω
*περικυκλόω
περιπατέω
†πῆρα
*πικρῶς
πίμπλημι
πίνω
πίπτω
πιστεύω
πίστις
πλῆθος
πλήν
πληρόω
πνεῦμα (†="ghost")
ποιέω
ποῖος
πόλις
πολύς
πορεύομαι
*πορρώτερον
*ποτέ
†ποτήριον
πούς
πρᾶξις
πράσσω
πρεσβυτέριον
πρό
προέρχομαι
*προμελετάω
πρός
προσδοκία
προσέρχομαι
προσευχή
προσεύχομαι
προσέχω
*προσποιέομαι
προσφέρω
προσφωνέω
πρόσωπον
προϋπάρχω
προφητεύω
προφητής
πρῶτος
†πτοέομαι
πύρ
πωλέω

ῥῆμα

σάββατον
*σάλος
σάρξ
σεαυτοῦ
σελήνη
σημεῖον
σήμερον
*σινιάζω
σῖτος
σιωπάω
σκότος
*σκυθρωπός
σός
σοφία
*στάδιος
στάσις
†σταυρόω
στεῖρος (*ἡ στεῖρα)
στῆθος
στηρίζω
στόμα (*="blade")
στράτευμα
στρατιώτης
*στρατόπεδον
στρέφω
σύ, σοῦ
συλλαμβάνω
συμβαίνω
σύν
συνάγω
συνέρχομαι
συνέχω
†συνζητέω
συνίημι
*συνκαθίζω
συνκαλέω
*συνκατατίθεμαι
*συνοχή
*συνπαραγίνομαι
συνπορεύομαι
σώζω
σῶμα

ταράσσω
τέ
τέκνον
τελέω
†τέλος
τίθημι
τίς, τί
τις, τι
τόπος
τότε
†τράπεζα
τρέφω
*τρίτον
τρίτος
τυγχάνω
τύπτω

*ὑγρός
υἱός
ὑμεῖς
ὑπάρχω
ὑπό
ὑπόδημα
*ὑπομιμνήσκω
ὑπομονή
ὑποστρέφω
ὑστερέω
ὕψιστος
ὕψος

φημί
φιλέω
φίλημα
*φιλονεικία
φίλος
φοβέομαι
*φόβηθρον
φόβος
†φόνος
φόρος
φυλακή
φυλή
φωνέω
φωνή
φῶς
χαίρω
χαρά
*χάραξ
χείρ
χριστός
χρόνος
χώρα
ψαλμός
ψηλαφάω
ψυχή
ὦ
ὧδε
ὥρα
ὡς
ὡσεί
*ὠτίον

APPENDIX III

THE TEXT OF THE JERUSALEM DOCUMENT

Italics are used to indicate materials which J must have contained, but which are here probably not in the language of J.

Brackets indicate materials but doubtfully assigned to J.

The text of the American Revised Version is used by permission of Thomas Nelson and Sons.

Column I: materials peculiar to Luke (Class I).

Column II: materials paralleled in Mark in a different location.

Column III: materials remotely paralleled in Mark (Class II) in a similar location.

Column IV: materials closely paralleled in Mark (Class III) in a similar location.

§ 1. The Triumphal Entry

Luke 19:28, 37–44, 47–48

	I	II	III	IV
A				28 *And when he had thus spoken, he went on before, going up to Jerusalem.*[1]
B	37 And as he was now drawing nigh, *even* at the descent of the mount of Olives, the whole multitude of the disciples began to rejoice and praise God with a loud voice for all the mighty works which they had seen:			
C				38 saying, Blessed *is* the King that cometh in the name of the Lord: peace in heaven, and glory in the highest.
D	39 And some of the Pharisees from the multitude said unto him, Teacher, rebuke thy disciples. 40 And he answered and said, I tell you that, if these shall hold their peace, the stones will cry out.			
E	41 And when he drew nigh, he saw the city and wept over it, 42 saying, If thou hadst known in this day, even thou, the things which belong unto peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes.			
F	43 For the days shall come upon thee, when thine enemies shall cast up a bank about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, 44 and shall dash thee to the ground, and thy children within thee; and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another; because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation.[2]			
G				47 *And he was teaching daily in the temple. But the chief priests and the scribes and the principal men of the people sought to destroy him:* 48 *and they could not find what they might do; for the people all hung upon him, listening.*

[1] Luke 19:29–36 follows.

[2] Luke 19:45–46: 45 And he entered into the temple, and began to cast out them that sold, 46 saying unto them, It is written, And my house shall be a house of prayer: but ye have made it a den of robbers.

§ 2. A Fragment of Discourse

Luke 20:34–36

A | 34 And Jesus said unto them, The sons of this world marry, and are given in marriage: 35 but they that are accounted worthy to attain to that world,
| | | and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry, nor are given in marriage:

B | 36 for neither can they die any more: for they are equal unto the angels;

C | | | and are sons of God, being sons of the resurrection.

§ 3. The Apocalyptic Discourse

Luke 21:10, 11*b*, 12*a*, 13–15, 18–20, 21*b*, 22, 23*b*–26*a*, 28, 34–38

A | | | | 10 *Then said he unto them,* Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom;[1]

B and there shall be terrors and great signs from heaven. 12 But before all these things, they shall lay their hands on you, and shall persecute you,[2]

C | | | 13 It shall turn out unto you for a testimony. 14 Settle it therefore in your hearts, not to meditate beforehand how to answer:

15 for I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to withstand or to gainsay.[3]

D 18 And not a hair of your head shall perish.

| | 19 In your patience ye shall win your souls.

E | | 20 But when ye see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that her desolation is at hand;[4]

F and let them that are in the midst of her depart out; and let not them that are in the country enter therein.

G 22 For these are days of vengeance, that all things which are written may be fulfilled;[5] for there shall be great distress upon the land, and wrath unto this

H people. 24 And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led captive into all the nations: and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled.

I | | 25 And there shall be signs in sun and moon and stars;
and upon the earth distress of nations, in perplexity for the roaring of the sea and the billows; 26 men fainting for fear, and for expectation of the things which are coming on the world:[6]

J 28 But when these things begin to come to pass, look up, and lift up your heads;

[1] Luke 21:11*a*: and there shall be great earthquakes, and in divers places famines and pestilences.

[2] Luke 21:12*b*: delivering you up to the synagogues and prisons, bringing you before kings and governors for my name's sake.

[3] Luke 21:16–17: 16 But ye shall be delivered up even by parents, and brethren, and kinsfolk, and friends; and *some* of you shall they cause to be put to death. 17 And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake.

[4] Luke 21:21*a*: Then let them that are in Judaea flee unto the mountains;

[5] Luke 21:23*a*: Woe unto them that are with child and to them that give suck in those days!

[6] Luke 21:26*b*–27: for the powers of the heavens shall be shaken. 27 And then shall they see the Son of man coming in a cloud with power and great glory.

§ 3. The Apocalytic Discourse—*Continued*

because your redemption draweth nigh.[1]

K 34 But take heed to yourselves, lest haply your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting, and drunkenness, and cares of this life, and that day come on you suddenly as a snare: 35 for *so* shall it come upon all them that dwell on the face of all the earth. 36 But watch ye at every season, making supplication, that ye may prevail to escape all these things that shall come to pass, and to stand before the Son of man.

L *37 And every day he was teaching in the temple; and every night he went out, and lodged in the mount that is called Olivet. 38 And all the people came early in the morning to him in the temple, to hear him.*

§ 4. The Last Supper

Luke 22:8, 14–19*a*, 21, 23

A 8 [2]And he sent Peter and John, saying, Go and make ready for us [the passover] that we may eat.[3]

B 14 And when the hour was come, he sat down, and the apostles with him.

C 15 And he said unto them, With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer: 16 for I say unto you, I shall not eat it, until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God.

D 17 And he received a cup, and when he had given thanks, he said, Take this, and divide it among yourselves: 18 for I say unto you, I shall not drink from henceforth of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come.

E 19 And he took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave to them, saying, This is my body.[4]

F 21 But behold, the hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the table.[5]

G *23 And they began to question among themselves, which of them it was that should do this thing.*

[1] Luke 21:29–33: 29 And he spake to them a parable: Behold the fig tree, and all the trees: 30 when they now shoot forth, ye see it and know of your own selves that the summer is now nigh. 31 Even so ye also, when ye see these things coming to pass, know ye that the kingdom of God is nigh. 32 Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass away, till all things be accomplished. 33 Heaven and earth shall pass away: but my words shall not pass away.

[2] Luke 22:1–7 precede.

[3] Luke 22:9–13 follow.

[4] Luke 22:19*b*–20: which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me. 20 And the cup in like manner after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood, *even* that which is poured out for you.

[5] Luke 22:22: For the Son of man indeed goeth, as it hath been determined: but woe unto that man through whom he is betrayed!

§ 5. The Farewell Discourse

Luke 22:24–33, 35–39

A 24 *And there arose also a contention among them, which of them was accounted to be greatest.* 25 And he said unto them, The kings of the Gentiles have lordship over them; and they that have authority over them are called Benefactors. 26 But ye *shall* not *be* so: but he that is the greater among you, let him become as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve.

27 For which is greater, he that sitteth at meat, or he that serveth? is not he that sitteth at meat? but I am in the midst of you as he that serveth.

B 28 But ye are they that have continued with me in my temptations; 29 and I appoint unto you a kingdom, even as my Father appointed unto me, 30 that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom; and ye shall sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel.

C 31 Simon, Simon, behold, Satan asked to have you, that he might sift you as wheat: 32 but I made supplication for thee, that thy faith fail not; and do thou, when once thou hast turned again, establish thy brethren.

33 And he said unto him, Lord, with thee I am ready to go both to prison and to death.[1]

D 35 And he said unto them, When I sent you forth without purse, and wallet, and shoes, lacked ye anything? And they said, Nothing. 36 And he said unto them, But now, he that hath a purse, let him take it, and likewise a wallet; and he that hath none, let him sell his cloak, and buy a sword. 37 For I say unto you, that this which is written must be fulfilled in me, And he was reckoned with transgressors: for that which concerneth me hath fulfilment. 38 And they said, Lord, behold, here are two swords. And he said unto them, It is enough.

E 39 *And he came out, and went, as his custom was, unto the mount of Olives; and the disciples also followed him.*

§ 6. The Agony and Betrayal of Jesus

Luke 22:40–41, 42*b*–52*a*, 53–54*a*

A 40 And when he was at the place, he said unto them, Pray that ye enter not into temptation.

B 41 And he was parted from them about a stone's cast; and he kneeled down and prayed,[2]
not my will, but thine, be done.

43 [And there appeared unto him an angel from heaven, strengthening him.

44 And being in an agony he prayed more earnestly; and his sweat became as it were great drops of blood falling down upon the ground.]

[1] Luke 22:34: And he said, I tell thee, Peter, the cock shall not crow this day, until thou shalt thrice deny that thou knowest me.

[2] Luke 22:42*a*: 42 saying, Father, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me: nevertheless

§ 6. The Agony and Betrayal of Jesus—*Continued*

C 45 And when he rose up from his prayer, he came unto the disciples, and found them sleeping for sorrow, 46 and said unto them, Why sleep ye?
rise and pray, that ye enter not into temptation.

D 47 *While he yet spake, behold, a multitude, and he that was called Judas, one of the twelve, went before them;* and he drew near unto Jesus to kiss him.

48 But Jesus said unto him, Judas, betrayest thou the Son of man with a kiss?

E 49 And when they that were about him saw what would follow, they said, Lord, shall we smite with the sword?

50 And a certain one of them smote the servant of the high priest, and struck off his right ear.

51 But Jesus answered and said, Suffer ye *them* thus far. And he touched his ear, and healed him.

F 52 *And Jesus said unto the chief priests,*[1]

53 *When I was daily with you in the temple,* ye stretched not forth your hands against me: but this is your hour, and the power of darkness.

G 54 And they seized him, and led him *away,* and brought him into the high priest's house.[2]

§ 7. Peter's Denials

Luke 22:55–60*a*, 61*ab*, 62

A 55 And when they had kindled a fire in the midst of the court, and had sat down together, Peter sat in the midst of them.

B 56 And a certain maid seeing him as he sat in the light *of the fire,* and looking stedfastly upon him, said, This man also was with him.

57 But he denied, saying, Woman, I know him not.

C 58 And after a little while another saw him, and said, Thou also art *one* of them.
But Peter said, Man, I am not.

D 59 And after the space of about one hour another confidently affirmed, saying, Of a truth this man also was with him; for he is a Galilaean. 60 But Peter said, Man, I know not what thou sayest.[3]

E 61 And the Lord turned, and looked upon Peter.
And Peter remembered the word of the Lord,[4]

62 And he went out, and wept bitterly.

[1] Luke 22:52*bc:* and captains of the temple, and elders, that were come against him, Are ye come out, as against a robber, with swords and staves?

[2] Luke 22:54*b:* But Peter followed afar off.

[3] Luke 22:60*b:* And immediately, while he yet spake, the cock crew.

[4] Luke 22:61*c:* how that he said unto him, Before the cock crow this day thou shalt deny me thrice.

§ 8. Jesus Examined by the Prosecutors

Luke 22:63–66*a*, 67–68, 70; 23:1

A | 63 And the men that held *Jesus* mocked him, and beat him. 64 And they blindfolded him, and asked him, saying, Prophesy: who is he that struck thee? 65 And many other things spake they against him, reviling him.

B | 66 *And as soon as it was day, the assembly of the elders of the people was gathered together, both chief priests and scribes,*[1]

C | saying, 67 If thou art the Christ, tell us.
But he said unto them, If I tell you, ye will not believe: 68 and if I ask *you*, ye will not answer.[2]

D | 70 And they all said, Art thou then the Son of God? And he said unto them, Ye say that I am.[3]

E | 1 And the whole company of them rose up, and brought him before Pilate.

§ 9. The Trial of Jesus

Luke 23:2–16, 18–22*a*, 22*c*–25

A | 2 And they began to accuse him, saying, We found this man perverting our nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Caesar, and saying that he himself is Christ a king.

| | | 3 *And Pilate asked him, saying, Art thou the King of the Jews? And he answered him and said, Thou sayest.*

4 And Pilate said unto the chief priests and the multitudes, I find no fault in this man.

B | 5 But they were the more urgent, saying, He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Judaea, and beginning from Galilee even unto this place. 6 But when Pilate heard it, he asked whether the man were a Galilaean. 7 And when he knew that he was of Herod's jurisdiction, he sent him unto Herod, who himself also was at Jerusalem in these days.

C | 8 Now when Herod saw Jesus, he was exceeding glad: for he was of a long time desirous to see him, because he had heard concerning him; and he hoped to see some miracle done by him. 9 And he questioned him in many words; but he answered him nothing.

D | 10 And the chief priests and the scribes stood, vehemently accusing him.

| 11 And Herod with his soldiers set him at nought, and mocked him, and arraying him in gorgeous apparel sent him back to Pilate.

E | 12 And Herod and Pilate became friends with each other that very day: for before they were at enmity between themselves.

F | 13 And Pilate called together the chief priests and the rulers and the people, 14 and said unto them, Ye brought unto

[1] Luke 22:66*b*: and they led him away into their council,

[2] Luke 22:69: But from henceforth shall the Son of man be seated at the right hand of the power of God.

[3] Luke 22:71: And they said, What further need have we of witness? for we ourselves have heard from his own mouth.

§ 9. The Trial of Jesus—*Continued*

F | me this man, as one that perverteth the people: and behold, I, having examined him before you, found no fault in this man touching those things whereof ye accuse him: 15 no, nor yet Herod: for he sent him back unto us; and behold, nothing worthy of death hath been done by him.

| | 16 I will therefore chastise him, and release him.

G | 18 But they cried out all together, saying, Away, with this man,

| | and release unto us Barabbas:—19 one who for a certain insurrection made in the city, and for murder, was cast into prison.

H | | 20 And Pilate spake unto them again, desiring to release Jesus; 21 but they shouted, saying, Crucify, crucify him.

I | | 22 And he said unto them the third time.[1] I have found no cause of death in him: I will therefore chastise him and release him. 23 But they were urgent with loud voices, asking that he might be crucified. And their voices prevailed.

J | | 24 And Pilate gave sentence that what they asked for should be done. 25 And he released him that for insurrection and murder had been cast into prison, whom they asked for; but Jesus he delivered up to their will.[2]

§ 10. A Prophecy against Jerusalem

Luke 23:27–31

A | 27 And there followed him a great multitude of the people, and of women who bewailed and lamented him. 28 But Jesus turning unto them said, Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children.

B | 29 For behold, the days are coming, in which they shall say, Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the breasts that never gave suck. 30 Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, Fall on us; and to the hills,

C | Cover us. 31 For if they do these things in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?

§ 11. The Crucifixion

Luke 23:32–34*a*, 35–37, 39–43, 46–49*a*

A | | 32 And there were also two others, malefactors, led with him to be put to death.

B | | | 33 *And when they came unto the place which is called The skull, there they crucified him,*

| | and the malefactors, one on the right hand and the other on the left.

34 [And Jesus said, Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.][3]

C | 35 And the people stood beholding.

[1] Luke 23:22*b*: Why, what evil hath this man done?

[2] Luke 23:26: And when they led him away, they laid hold upon one Simon of Cyrene, coming from the country, and laid on him the cross, to bear it after Jesus.

[3] Luke 23:34*b*: And parting his garments among them, they cast lots.

§ 11. The Crucifixion—*Continued*

D And the rulers also scoffed at him, saying, He saved others; let him save himself, if this is the Christ of God, his chosen.

E 36 And the soldiers also mocked him, coming to him, offering him vinegar,

37 and saying, If thou art the King of the Jews, save thyself.[1]

F 39 And one of the malefactors that were hanged railed on him,

saying, Art not thou the Christ? save thyself and
G us. 40 But the other answered, and rebuking him said, Dost thou not even fear God, seeing thou art in the same condemnation? 41 And we indeed justly; for we receive the due reward of our deeds: but this man hath done
H nothing amiss. 42 And he said Jesus, remember me when thou comest in thy kingdom. 43 And he said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.[2]

I 46 And Jesus, crying with a loud voice, said, Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit:

and having said this, he gave up the ghost.

J 47 And when the centurion saw what was done he glorified God, saying, Certainly this was a righteous man.

K 48 And all the multitudes that came together to this sight, when they beheld the things that were done, returned smiting their breasts.

L 49 And all his acquaintance,[3] stood afar off, seeing these things.

§ 12. The Burial of Jesus

Luke 23:50–51*a*, 52–56*a*

A 50 And behold, a man named Joseph,

who was a councillor, a good and righteous man 51 (he had not consented to their counsel and deed),[4]

B *52 this man went to Pilate, and asked for the body of Jesus. 53 And he took it down, and wrapped it in a linen cloth, and laid him in a tomb that was hewn in stone,*

where never man had yet lain.

C 54 And it was the day of the Preparation, and the sabbath drew on.

D *55 And the women, who had come with him out of Galilee, followed after and beheld the tomb, and how his body was laid. 56 And they returned, and prepared spices and ointments.*

[1] Luke 23:38: And there was also a superscription over him, This is the King of the Jews.

[2] Luke 23:44–45: 44 And it was now about the sixth hour, and a darkness came over the whole land until the ninth hour, 45 the sun's light failing: and the veil of the temple was rent in the midst.

[3] Luke 23:49*b*: and the women that followed with him from Galilee.

[4] Luke 23:51*b*: *a man* of Arimathaea, a city of the Jews, who was looking for the kingdom of God.

§ 13. The Empty Tomb

Luke 23:56*b*; 24:1–5, 6*b*–10*a*

A *And on the sabbath they rested according to the commandment.*

1 *But on the first day of the week, at early dawn, they came unto the tomb, bringing the spices which they had prepared.*

B 2 And they found the stone rolled away from the tomb. 3 And they entered in, and found not the body [of the Lord Jesus].

C 4 And it came to pass, while they were perplexed thereabout, behold, two men stood by them in dazzling apparel: 5 and as they were affrighted and bowed down their faces to the earth, they said unto them, Why seek ye the living among the dead?[1]

D remember how he spake unto you when he was yet in Galilee, 7 saying that the Son of man must be delivered up into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and [the third day]rise again. 8 And they remembered his words,

E 9 and returned from the tomb, and told all these things to the eleven, and to all the rest.

F 10 Now they were Mary Magdalene, and Joanna, and Mary the *mother* of James.[2]

§ 14. Jesus Appears to Two Disciples

Luke 24:13–35

A 13 And behold, two of them were going that very day to a village named Emmaus, which was threescore furlongs from Jerusalem. 14 And they communed with each other of all these things which had happened. 15 And it came to pass, while they communed and questioned together, that Jesus himself drew near, and went with them. 16 But their eyes were holden that they should not know him.

B 17 And he said unto them, What communications are these that ye have one with another, as ye walk? And they stood still, looking sad. 18 And one of them, named Cleopas, answering said unto him, Dost thou alone sojourn in Jerusalem and not know the things which are come to pass there in these days? 19 And he said unto them, What things? And they said unto him,

C The things concerning Jesus the Nazarene, who was a prophet mighty in deed and word before God and all the people: 20 and how the chief priests and our rulers delivered him up to be condemned to death, and crucified him.

D 21 But we hoped that it was he who should redeem Israel.

E [Yea and besides all this, it is now the third day since these things came to pass.] 22 Moreover certain women of our company amazed us, having been early at the

[1] Luke 24:6*a*: [He is not here, but is risen:]

[2] Luke 24:10*b*–12: and the other women with them told these things unto the apostles. 11 And these words appeared in their sight as idle talk; and they disbelieved them. 12 [But Peter arose, and ran unto the tomb; and stooping and looking in, he seeth the linen cloths by themselves; and he departed to his home, wondering at that which was come to pass.]

tomb; 23 and when they found not his body, they came, saying, that they had also seen a vision of angels, who said that he was alive.

F 24 And certain of them that were with us went to the tomb, and found it even so as the women had said: but him they saw not.

G 25 And he said unto them, O foolish men, and slow of heart to believe in all that the prophets have spoken! 26 Behooved it not the Christ to suffer these things, and to enter into his glory? 27 And beginning from Moses and from all the prophets, he interpreted to them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself.

H 28 And they drew nigh unto the village, whither they were going: and he made as though he would go further. 29 And they constrained him, saying, Abide with us; for it is toward evening, and the day is now far spent. And he went in to abide with them.

I 30 And it came to pass, when he had sat down with them to meat, he took the bread and blessed; and breaking *it* he gave to them. 31 And their eyes were opened and they knew him; and he vanished out of their sight. 32 And they said one to another, Was not our heart burning within us, while he spake to us in the way, while he opened to us the scriptures?

J 33 And they rose up that very hour, and returned to Jerusalem, and found the eleven gathered together, and them that were with them, 34 saying, The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon. 35 And they rehearsed the things *that happened* in the way, and how he was known of them in the breaking of the bread.

§ 15. Jesus Commissions the Disciples

Luke 24:36–49

A 36 And as they spake these things, he himself stood in the midst of them, [and saith unto them, Peace *be* unto you]. 37 But they were terrified and affrighted, and supposed that they beheld a spirit.

B 38 And he said unto them, Why are ye troubled? and wherefore do questionings arise in your heart? 39 See my hands and my feet, that it is I myself: handle me, and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye behold me having. 40 [And when he had said this, he showed them his hands and his feet.]

C 41 And while they still disbelieved for joy, and wondered, he said unto them, Have ye here anything to eat? 42 And they gave him a piece of a broiled fish. 43 And he took it, and ate before them.

D 44 And he said unto them, These are my words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things must needs be fulfilled, which are written in the law of Moses, and the prophets, and the psalms, concerning me. 45 Then opened he their mind, that they might understand the scriptures;

E 46 and he said unto them, Thus it is written, that the Christ should suffer, and rise again from the dead [the third day];

§ 15. Jesus Commissions the Disciples—*Continued*

F | 47 *and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name unto all the nations, beginning from Jerusalem.*
48 Ye are witnesses of these things.

G | 49 And behold, I send forth the promise of my Father upon you: but tarry ye in the city, until ye be clothed with power from on high.

§ 16. The Ascension

Luke 24:50–53

50 And he led them out until *they were* over against Bethany: and he lifted up his hands, and blessed them. 51 And it came to pass, while he blessed them, he parted from them, [and was carried up into heaven].
52 And they [worshiped him, and] returned to Jerusalem with great joy: 53 and were continually in the temple, blessing God.

A Non-Markan Logion Probably Not Drawn from J

Luke 20:16*b*–18

And when they heard it, they said, God forbid.
17 But he looked upon them, and said, What then is this that is written,
| | | The stone which the builders rejected,
| | | The same was made the head of the corner?
18 Every one that falleth on that stone shall be broken to pieces; but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will scatter him as dust.

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